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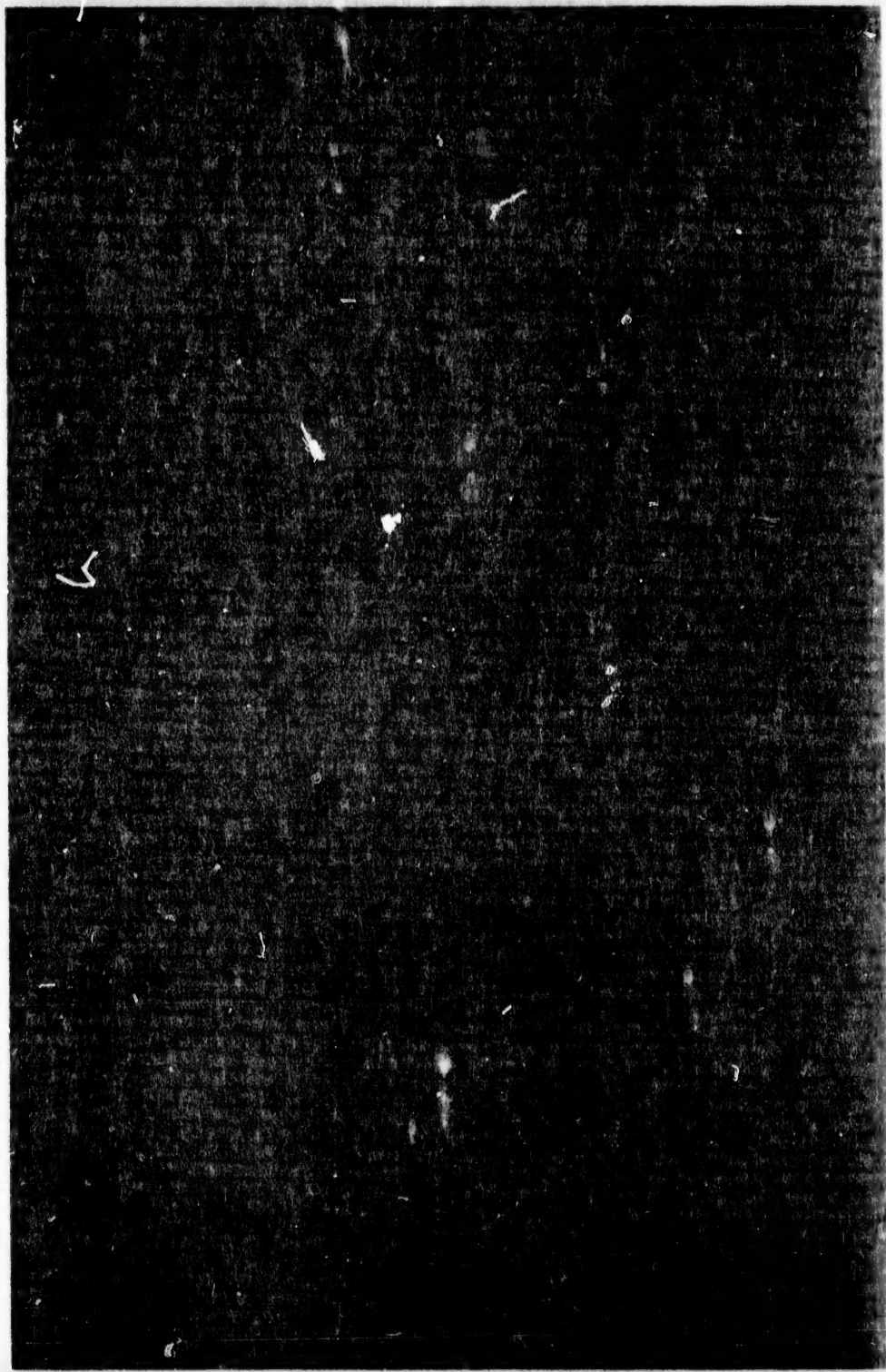
A MONOGRAPH OF HISTORIC SITES
IN THE
PROVINCE OF NEW BRUNSWICK

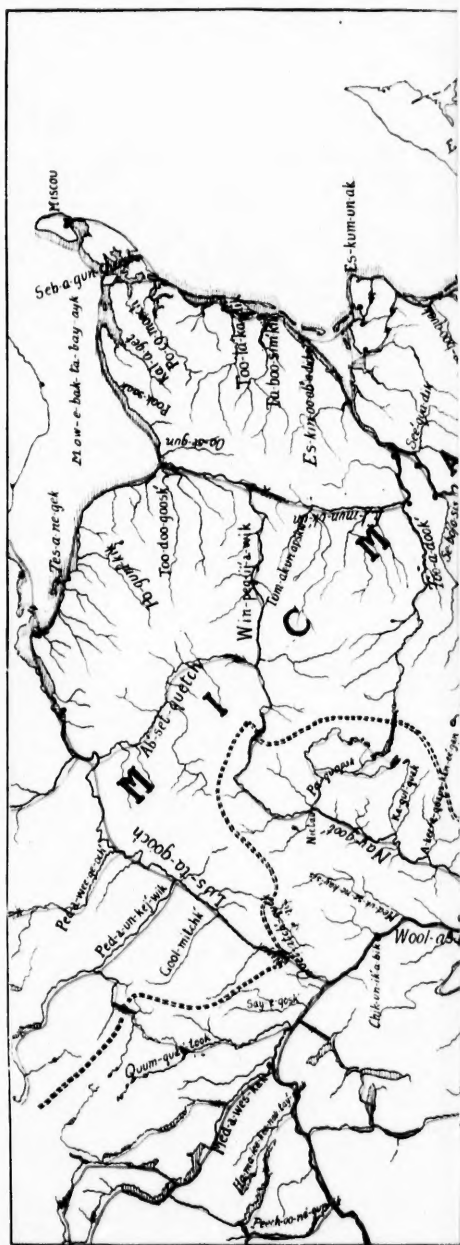
(Contributions to the History of New Brunswick—No. 6)

By WILLIAM F. GANONG, M.A., Ph.D.

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BRUNSWICK IN THE PREHISTORIC (INDIAN) PERIOD.
 routes of travel are shown in red.

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III.—*A Monograph of Historic Sites in the Province of New Brunswick.*

(Contributions to the History of New Brunswick, No. 4.)

By WILLIAM F. GANONG, M.A., Ph. D.

(Presented by Sir John Bourinot, and read May 25, 1899.)

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INTRODUCTION.

Of the different phases of the study of History, the one that appeals to the most men is the archæological. Especially is this true for local history, in which a dozen persons may be found giving attention to situations of local events, genealogy, etc., to one who cares for the untangling of threads of cause and effect in the evolution of events or institutions. No doubt this preference is due primarily to the fact that the former appeals most to the imagination, which nearly all men like to exercise, while the latter demands work of the understanding which fewer care for. Events in which one can picture himself taking part, particularly those in which heroism, endurance and loyalty are demanded, are the ones that men like most to read about and to think upon, and the

vividness and pleasure are so much the greater when one can stand upon the exact spot where the events occurred and feel himself surrounded by the very witnesses, inanimate though they be, of these events. This feeling has been finely expressed by Crawford when he says:—"We have an involuntary reverence for all witnesses of History, be they animate or inanimate, men, animals or stones." Perhaps, after all, this feeling may be but a phase of our still active though unconscious animism, a relic of the feeling which in primitive races peoples all great objects with conscious spirits.

It has always seemed to me that even our greater writers of history have not, as a rule, taken sufficient account of this feeling in the majority of their readers. In their treatment of local events they are often excusably inaccurate, or even inexcusably careless, but they lose thereby a great opportunity to increase their audience and influence. Men are prone to judge the whole by the part they themselves know, and if a reader discovers that the subjects he knows and likes best are badly treated, he is likely to suspect other parts, and even to condemn the whole work. There is, however, great excuse for neglect of local archaeology by historians of wide interests, for it is a subject requiring minute and especially personal investigation, and this of course they have not time to give. Local archaeology must, in order to be well done, form a subject for investigation by itself, and, in order to inspire confidence, must be worked out in the fullest, most comprehensive and most scientific manner. When this is done, the general historian may accept its results with confidence, and make his work locally accurate and complete. A comprehensive monographic study of the subject is likely also to develop new facts, and especially new connections of cause and effect, and new generalizations. Moreover, the work should be done before the events are too long past, and their sites have had time to be obscured by forgetfulness, misplaced by the vagaries of tradition, or hidden by topographical or other changes. This kind of work is not, I admit, as high a grade of historical study as the investigation of the origin of institutions, which seems to be the highest aim of history, but it supplies details for history and materials for making it more real and attractive. It is for history much what dictionaries are for literature.

These observations sufficiently explain the objects of the present work, which are, in brief, the locating of events of New Brunswick history for the use of the many whom it does and will in the future interest, the supplying of accurate and complete local archaeological data for the use of the general historian whose work may deal with or touch upon New Brunswick, the recovery of facts as to earlier events before their location is for ever lost, and an attempt to discover, from the grouping of the known facts, new ones and new principles. My ideal has been to describe every place of any importance to our local history so exactly that the

interested reader may, with these descriptions and maps in hand, locate on a modern map, or go in person to, the exact spot.

Unlike some other phases of history, archaeological studies such as the present should be undertaken as soon as possible after the events have occurred, for their evidence is found not so much in documents reasonably sure of long preservation, but in perishable materials and alterable localities. While these sites are still determinable, therefore, they should be fixed for the future, partly by accurate maps showing their relation to neighbouring objects less liable to change, and partly by monuments or other memorials of lasting materials. This placing of tablets or stones, suitably inscribed, to mark historical sites yet well known but liable to be lost in the future, seems a most appropriate work for local historical societies. This excellent custom has been carried to a very gratifying degree in Massachusetts and other parts of New England, but as yet we have done nothing to mark our important sites in New Brunswick.

The principles of the investigation of such a subject as the present are extremely simple. First of all, one must guard against preconceived opinions and a desire, based on local pride, to magnify the importance of some particular locality. Then he must supply himself with all known documentary and cartographical evidence, and visit the locality, calling to aid all local tradition, and especially minutely examining the ground, excavating if necessary. Nothing in such a study as this can replace the actual visit to the locality and its leisurely inspection. Even a single glance at the spot and its surroundings will often settle questions that inspection of maps alone leaves doubtful. If actual remains are visible, undoubtedly those of the fort or other object sought, the student is indeed fortunate, and his search ends. But if no such traces are visible, one turns to tradition, which, for very recent events, especially those within the memory of men now living or of their fathers, may be of much value, but which for more distant events rapidly lessens in value; while for events of several generations ago, particularly if the vicinity has not been continuously occupied, tradition is well-nigh valueless, or even worse than that, actually misleading. Tradition dearly loves a sensation, and manufactures it from a small basis. It loves, too, an explanation of things that are odd, and is much influenced by coincidences, so that it tends to link any odd place or object with some past striking event, and, once fixed, is so satisfied with itself that it is beyond the reach of reason. The psychology of tradition would form a curious subject for investigation. The seeker for local sites must use tradition rather for hints than as evidence. When tradition fails him, he can only fall back upon probabilities based on the nature of the locality and of the event that happened there, in which he will be greatly aided by a full knowledge of the customs of the time. Forts are not built in marshes when there is high land near, nor do early settlers seat themselves on

rocky lands when there are fertile intervalles near by. But this argument from probability must also be used with caution, for there are many imaginable causes, personal, political or other, which may, at that period, have outweighed the influences which would determine us at the present time. If probability of this kind fails, then one has to take documents or old maps alone, and do the best they allow. But these sources of evidence are by no means perfect, for aside from the fact that they do not often mention precise sites, these being supposed to be either well known or not of sufficient importance to be especially mentioned in documents whose object is different, there is the further fact that they are sometimes misleading unintentionally through reliance on erroneous tradition or through any of the other causes which mislead us to-day. There is a curious tendency in the minds of most students to place a reliance upon a very old document that would not be given to one that is recent, and any fragment, if only old enough, is usually accepted as almost unquestionable. One may almost say that in general the older a document is, the more trust do students put in it, and the more elaborately will they build theories upon it, whereas the same if but few years old would not receive notice. In such a study as the present, undoubtedly the best documents are detailed maps made at the time on the spot by surveyors or officers, especially if prepared to accompany official reports, where there is every inducement to truthfulness and no reason for falsehood. With such maps one can go to the ground and by measurements locate a spot where stood some structure of which neither trace nor tradition remains. General maps of small scale are much less trustworthy; for simply practical reasons connected with their drawing or engraving may make them locate places wrongly, as, for instance, a fort might be placed on the wrong side of a river because there is more space for it and its name there than on its proper side. In locating early settlements after the period of surveys there is little difficulty, for records and maps are carefully preserved in the official Land Offices, where they are easily accessible, and may readily be compared with the modern topography. Old plans, indeed, often contain most important hints upon our present subject, for the early surveyors in unsettled districts naturally put all available information and marked all possible localities upon their maps.

Historic sites are, of course, of all degrees of importance, from those of events of world-wide interest and importance down to those so local as to be not regarded by any but the most curious; and in this study it has been difficult to draw a line between those to be included and those to be omitted. I have tried to err rather upon the side of including too much, but I hope the reader will not find much that is too trivial. Lengthy as this study appears, however, it is so far from exhausting its subject from a local point of view, that it is to be regarded rather as a foundation for

future study ; and there is a great amount to be done in particular localities, too, on sites not likely to be of interest outside of those places.

The subject of historic sites in New Brunswick naturally falls into periods answering to those of our general history, which segregates itself naturally into six fairly distinct periods—the Prehistoric (or Indian), that of Exploration, the Acadian, the English, the Loyalist and the Post-Loyalist.

I. THE PREHISTORIC (INDIAN) PERIOD.

In this period, the subjects of particular importance to our present study are the following:—(1) The distribution of the Indian tribes ; (2) the sites of their villages, camping places and burial grounds ; (3) their routes of travel. Though occasional references to these topics occur in local historical writings, these are extremely scanty, and no attempt has been made as yet to treat the subject comprehensively.

1. THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE INDIAN TRIBES.

When the country now forming New Brunswick was first discovered, it was occupied by two distinct Indian tribes, distributed well over it on the principal rivers and harbours. The early writers, who often refer to them, while at times differing in details, agree in the main as to their distribution ; and as set forth by them it differed but little from that of the same tribes in the present day. The Micmacs or Souriquois occupied the entire north shore from Gaspé to and into Nova Scotia, with villages on the principal rivers ; and the head of the Bay of Fundy was theirs also. The Maliseets or Etechemins occupied the valley of the St. John and the Passamaquoddy region. The division of the tribe inhabiting the latter was known as the Passamaquoddies, while those of the St. John were Woolahstukwik, though this name does not occur in any documents, and never came into use by Europeans. Beyond our present limits on the Penobscot lived another very closely related tribe, the Penobscots.¹

The limits between these tribes were well understood, and each in the main kept to its own hunting grounds. Early writers and the present statements of the Indians agree that each tribe was considered to possess the entire river systems on which it lived, so that the boundaries came on the watersheds between the principal rivers. These boundaries are shown thus drawn on the accompanying map, No. 12. I have been told by Mark Paul, a chief of the Micmacs, that the boundary between his tribe and the Maliseets reached the Bay of Fundy at Martins Head. There is some reason for supposing that at the time of Cham-

¹ The relationship of these tribes, as given by their own traditions, is discussed by M. Chamberlain in the New Brunswick Magazine, I., 41.

plain's visit, in 1604, the Miamaes occupied the mouth of the St. John, but if so they must soon have abandoned it, as its later history is connected altogether with the Maliseets. The boundary between Maliseets and Passamaquoddies, practically one tribe as they were, was not a sharp one; but, such as it was, it would naturally begin on the coast at Point Lepreau, and follow the watershed. I do not know where upon the coast the boundary between Passamaquoddies and Penobscots began, but the topography would suggest that it was not far west of Machias.

It is stated in many historical works, as, for instance, in that of Cooney, that the Mohawks once occupied the valley of the Restigouche, and even extended to the Nepisiguit, and that, too, within historic times. The Indians themselves have traditions to that effect. There is, however, not the slightest historical support for such a belief. It is probably entirely erroneous, and arose from a magnification of the occasional incursions or even longer visits of the Mohawks to this region. It is not likely that the Indian traditions are very trustworthy evidence upon such questions. The Gaspesians of LeClerc were, of course, Miamaes.

2. INDIAN VILLAGES AND CAMPING GROUNDS.

The mode of life of the Indians, dependent as they were for subsistence upon fish and game, imposed upon them a migratory existence. They must take what game the season afforded, and go where it was to be found. Hence they moved to the places of abundance of fish and shell-fish in spring and summer, and to the haunts of the big game in its season in autumn and winter. This constant movement allowed of but few permanent villages, though it necessitated numerous camping grounds of greater or less extent and length of occupation. Indeed, as to villages with a fairly permanent population, we have records of but very few, and even they were at times entirely abandoned; these included *Meductic*, *Ek-pah-hak* (Auepac), and *Madawaska*, on the St. John, *Richibucto*, *Burnt Church* and *Old Mission Point* (Restigouche), on the North Shore, and perhaps Pleasant Point, at Passamaquoddy. Several of these situations, occupying rich intervalles, are particularly favourable for cultivation of the soil, and it is probable that in these places some simple crops, such as Indian corn and pumpkins, were cultivated in a rude manner, tending to give fixity to the settlements; for agriculture necessitates stability, as the chase necessitates constant movement.

When we consider the temporary camping places, however, we find that they existed, and still exist, in great number and in all degrees of importance, from those occupied for long periods by many families, down to the tiny sites used for a night by the transient hunter. No doubt these sites were much more numerous than we now know of in the settled parts of the province, and my list of the more important ones that

follows must be very incomplete, though it is as full as I have been able to make it. In the yet unsettled parts of the province these sites are still used somewhat by the Indians and by white hunters, so they may still be identified; but in extent and importance they are far behind those in the settled parts. Much the same motives that attracted the Indians to certain sites attracted the early settlers, and many of the most important camp sites are now covered by villages or towns, and every trace of Indian occupation is obliterated. As to the sites of such settlements, we have four sources of evidence: first, historical references in documents and on maps, of which use has been made in the list that follows, many of the earlier references being, however, too indefinite for fixing exact sites; second, there is tradition, still near enough to the time of Indian occupation to be of some value, especially if backed by relics found upon the sites; third, there are the great shell-heaps on the coast, best of evidence of a camp site, since they give a rough quantitative measure of the extent of its use and even of its antiquity; fourth, there is the testimony of place-names, those marvellously persistent memorials of past events and conditions. The tendency to give descriptive names is very strong in early settlers, the stronger the more illiterate they are, and the presence of Indians at a given place affords one of the best of descriptive terms. The name *Indian River* occurs in New Brunswick once, *Indian Cove* once, *Indian Falls* once, *Indiantown* twice, *Indian Beach* twice, *Indian Camp Point* once, *Indian Brook* twice, *Indian Bay* once, *Indian Lake* twice, *Indian Mountain* once, *Indian Island* eight times, *Indian Point* at least twelve times. These names in some cases are the last memorials of their presence in those places.

Of the several influences determining the situation of camping sites, the first would be nearness to a river, for the birch canoe was the Indian's sole vehicle of locomotion. Undoubtedly the next would be the abundance of game, particularly of game occupying a fixed position, as shell-fish do, or following definite paths through places where their flight may be interrupted, as fish do. In such places the Indians could remain for long periods of time; whilst in the pursuit of the wide-wandering large furred and feathered game they must keep always on the move. Consequently, next to the few villages already mentioned, their camp sites were most abundant in the following situations:—first, near the great clam beds of the Bay of Fundy, in particular about Passamaquoddy Bay, where they are marked by the great shell-heaps, chief among which are those at Oak Bay, Minister's Island, Bocabee, Fries Island, with others of lesser extent, too many to mention. Some of these shell-heaps have been studied with care by Professor Baird, and the one at Bocabee with particular care by Dr. G. F. Matthew, whose paper detailing his results is by far the most important contribution we have to the knowledge of

the life of our Indians in prehistoric times. It has been generally supposed that these camp sites at the shell-heaps were occupied only in spring and summer, when the best fishing is past and the big game is out of condition, and that they were abandoned in autumn and winter for the inland hunting, but Dr. Matthew has found evidence to show that they may to some extent have been occupied the entire year. Again, on the north shore, the great oyster beds extending from Shediac to Caraquette, and formerly of greater extension and abundance than now, must have been a great attraction, though the shell-heaps in that region have not been at all studied. Since, however, that entire coast is slowly sinking, many shell-heaps must have been washed away. Probably the shell-fish were used only in spring and summer, and the reliance placed for the winter upon big game. Shell-fish are not a sufficient winter diet. In their hunting trips for big game, only temporary camps were used as centres for the hunting, and these soon abandoned. We obtain a vivid picture of the hardships of such a life in the narrative of John Gyles, who describes what was doubtless a typical winter, and in the narratives of several of the Jesuit Fathers who accompanied the Indians in their winter hunts. Second, waterfalls are great fishing-places, for in the basins below them the fish pause to rest before beginning the ascent. Thus, at *Aroostook*, *Grand*, *Salmon* and other falls were important camp sites. The mouths of small rivers were also, for similar reasons, good camping spots. Again, the head of tide on the rivers was a favourite place, probably for the good salmon-fishing likely to be found there. In this situation were *Aucpac*, *Indiantown* (Renous), *Red Bank* and *Mission Point*, some of the most important of the prehistoric sites. Third, are good sites as a centre for the killing of porpoise. This has determined the sites of the camps at *Indian Beach*, *Grand Manan*, and *Indian Cove*, just west of Point Lepreau. Again, the ends of portages were important places, but less of course for game than for rest before and after the labour of portaging. This, in part, determined the position of *Meductic*. Again, deep, muddy pools in sluggish rivers, suitable for eels, of which the Indians are very fond, are important places. Thus have been located the important settlements of *Eelground*, *Miramichi*, and *Eel River*, *Restigouche*, and perhaps the eel-pools at Benton had something to do with the site of *Meductic*. Some minor settlements near the head of the St. Croix were thus determined. An example of a particularly well-placed village was *Burnt Church*. Of this Perley says in his Report of 1841 (xcix.):—"The small River furnishes Oysters, Lobsters, Sea Trout and Eels in abundance; in front of the Point large quantities of Salmon and Bass are caught annually, and there are plenty of water-fowl."

Minor influences determining the exact positions of camp sites were as follows:—First, a level place, an intervale or low terrace, near the water, for their wigwams, a good gravel beach for their canoes, and a

spring. The need for a spring by the salt water is obvious enough, but even on the clearest rivers, where the purity and coolness of the water far exceeds that of the water supply of many modern cities, the Indians still seek a spring, and most of the camping places along our rivers to-day are near good springs. How much this meant to them may be gathered from the narrative of Gyles, in which the great spring at Meductic is more than once mentioned.

Defence against enemies seems hardly to have been a factor in the choice of situations; that was probably attained by the palisades of their villages. Probably, however, a good look-out place in the vicinity, commanding a view of the water-ways, was an advantage, and Denys tells us that at the Indian fort at Richibucto a tall pole had been erected for this purpose.

When many of the favourable conditions for a camp site came together—a good game country, good eel grounds, the end of a portage, an interval flat capable of easy cultivation, a good spring—the result was a large village; this was the case with Meductic, and here not only was a village, but a fort as well. That our Indians built forts there is no doubt. Thus, Champlain in 1604 found on Navy Island a “cabin in which the Indians are fortified,” and Lescarbot described the village of St. John as “on a knoll surrounded by tall trees attached one to another.” Villebon, in his Journal of 1697, speaks of the old fort at the mouth of the Nerepis as an Indian fort, as he does also of that at Meductic. St. Valier, in 1688, calls Meductic a fort, as does also Cadillac in 1692. Again, there is an old fort on an island in Shediac Harbour which may be Indian, and a very clear account is given by Denys, in 1672, of the Indian fort at Richibucto, which he says had bastions. Probably this latter feature was learned from the French, and no doubt their forts were originally merely fences of pickets built as a protection against their dreaded hereditary foes, the Mohawks, whose forays, according to their traditions, extended into New Brunswick, though there is no record of such an incursion within historic times. It is said by tradition that the settlement at Mission Point was inclosed by a stockade.

It might be supposed that the present Indian reserves would mark the sites of ancient camping places, but such is not often the case. On the St. John, the only reserve near an ancient camp site of any importance is that of Madawaska. The sites of Meductic and Auepac are no longer theirs, but the newer Woodstock and Indian Village reserves have succeeded them. In Passamaquoddy there is no reserve on the Canadian side, but there is a Maine reserve at Pleasant Point and another near Princeton. The old camping ground near Dorchester is no longer occupied, but that at Folly Point replaces it. On the north shore, Burnt Church reserve covers an ancient camping site, and perhaps that at Eel-ground, and probably that at Red Bank. Many changes have been made

in the location of reserves in this century, and invariably, I believe, in the interest of the Indians, who have always received consideration from both Provincial and Dominion governments. When they have shown a tendency to settle in particular places, the government has usually acquired the land and reserved it to them, at the same time selling places that they abandon. This has been the history of settlements at Indian Village (Kingsclear), Indian Island (Bathurst), and some other sites. The Indians show more and more a tendency to settle near the larger towns and the summer resorts, where they find a market for their wooden and basket wares, and some light, congenial employment. They are usually allowed to camp where they will, and there are but few land-owners churlish enough to refuse them permission to occupy any site they fix upon. They may be allowed with perfect safety to camp where they choose, for they are honest and inoffensive.

In listing the camp sites, as well as in other lists through this paper, I shall group them according to the natural river-system divisions of the province, as follows:—

1. The Passamaquoddy District: All rivers of this system to Point Lepreau.
2. The St. John District: All this valley and to Martins Head.
3. The Petitcodiac-Miseguash District: All the head of the Bay of Fundy and to Baie Verte.
4. The Richibucto District: From Bay Verte to Point Escuminac.
5. The Miramichi District: From Escuminac to Tracadie.
6. The Nepisiguit District: From Tracadie to Belledune Point.
7. The Restigouche District: From Belledune Point to beyond the Restigouche River.

The watersheds are of course the boundaries between the heads of the rivers.

1. The Passamaquoddy District.

- A.—Below Forest City.** Between Grand and Chepednek Lakes, on the Canadian side, below Tupper's Cove, is a point known to residents as an ancient Indian camping ground. On a plan of 1832 it is marked as "Etienne's Improvements," and along the river in front is "Etienne's Eel Works."¹ This passage between the lakes must have been a great fishing place.
- B.—Indian Island.** At the lower end of Chepednek Lake. I have been told by the Indians that in old times they came to this vicinity for cranberries, which grew here in great numbers, and probably this island was their camping place.
- C.—St. Croix.** A plan of 1837 marks on the site of the modern village of St. Croix, "Eel Works, Kilmaquac, a deserted Indian village."² The site is an ideal one for a camping place, and there are falls just above. It is

¹ This phrase "Eel Works" is curious. I have noticed it but twice, here and in C following. Probably it refers to weirs or traps set to catch eels.

² The name Kilmaquac appears on the map of the Maritime Provinces in Stanford's Compendium 1897, a remarkable case of survival.

marked also as an "Indian Town" on Titcomb's Plan of the Seodidk, 1792. The 1837 plan has on a point on the west side of the exit from the lake, "La Coote, an Indian, settled here," and opposite, on the east side, "Clearing made by Indian Newell." There is also a Passamaquoddy village, at Lewis Island, Maine, on what was probably a very ancient camping place. The 1785 map of the Seodidk marks "Indian Wigwams" about halfway between Lewis Island and the main river on the north side, and the Titcomb Plan of 1792 marks it on the south side.

- D.—Salmon Falls.** On the Canadian side, on the site of the Cotton Mill, was an ancient camping place. It was here that Captain Church, in 1704, attacked the Indians and destroyed their store of fish, as he relates fully in his well-known narrative. The 1785 plan of Seodidk marks here "Indian Land." There was a burial ground here. (See the *Courier* series, CHIL.) The Passamaquoddies have at present a small settlement at Calais, certainly very modern.
- E.—Oak Bay.** Near the head of Oak Bay, at Simpson's, on the east side, is an extensive shell heap, indicating a favourite summer camping ground. It is described with others in Baird's "Notes on Aboriginal Shell Mounds." There is said to be another on the west shore opposite, and another on Oak Point.
- F.—St. Andrews.** From its location, one of the most admirable of all camping sites. It was called by the Passamaquoddies *Kun-as-keam-kook*. On the Morris Map of St. Andrews of 1784, the point nearest Navy Island, where the C. P. R. wharf now is, is called *Indian Point*, as it is in some of the boundary documents, and no doubt the main settlement was here. Another name applied to the same point by Mitchel in his Field-Book of 1764 was *Lue*, meant for Louis, doubtless for Lewis Neptune, an Indian chief, prominent in the last century, and who probably lived here. (See *Place Nomenclature*, p. 267). Some of the boundary documents refer to an important burying-place here; there was one farther up the harbour where now the block-house is, which has been used by the Indians within the memory of men now living. At present the extreme southern point of the peninsula is called *Indian Point*, and two or three families of Passamaquoddies live near the railroad station, though not upon a reservation.
- G.—Ministers Island.** Facing St. Andrew's, south of the bar, is a fine large shell-heap, indicating a much used camp-site.
- H.—Bocabec.** On the east side of the entrance of the river is a large shell-heap which has been thoroughly investigated by G. F. Matthew, and described fully by him in the *Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick* No. III. (and also reprinted in No. X.).
- Other shell-heaps of some importance occur at many points about Passamaquoddy Bay. Baird mentions them at east side of Digdeguash river, Green Point (Letete), Frye's Island, Bliss Island, Seely's Cove, Popelogan. There is one also at Joe's Point. But the shell-heaps are innumerable, and of all grades of importance, and a complete list of them would run into many dozens. Other camping-grounds are said to occur at Red Beach, Maine, and at Liberty Point, Robbinston.
- I.—Indian Point, Magaguadavic,** just above Red Rock stream, on the west side. Thus marked on the Campbell and Hedden Map of 1797; it is an intervalle point forming the kind of site most liked by them. Allan says in his Report in 1793: "On the river Magaguadavic many make it their home."

- J.—Pleasant Point.** An ancient Indian village, now the chief village of the Passamaquoddies, called by them *See-by-ik*. It is mentioned as an Indian village in Owen's journal of 1770. According to Lewis Mitchell, one of the best informed of the Passamaquoddies, the chief Passamaquoddy village was first at St Andrews, then at Indian Island, then at Birch Point, three miles below Pleasant Point, and finally at Pleasant Point.
- K.—Indian Island.** As the name indicates, this is known to have been a resort of theirs from early times. Lorimer states that they had here a burying-ground. Church found Indians here in 1704.
- L.—Campobello.** I have found no record of an ancient settlement on this island, though it cannot be doubted they existed there. There is an *Indian Beach* near Head Harbour, and on one late map *Indian Point* is given also to Duck Point at the southern end of the island.
- M.—Grand Manan.** Indian shell heaps are mentioned by Baird at Grand Harbour, Nantucket Island and Cheney Island, and no doubt exist at many other places. On the charts the southern point of Ross Island is called *Indian Camp Point*. Near the northwest end of the island is *Indian Beach*, where the Passamaquoddies still have a camping place used while hunting porpoise.
- N.—**At the entrance of Letang River at the head of Letang Harbour the charts show an *Indian Point*.
- O.—**In a small cove close to Point Lepreau on the west side is an old camping place still used by the Passamaquoddies.

The principal camp sites in this District will be found marked on Map No. 40.

2. The St. John District.

Along the main St. John, Indian camping places and temporary settlements must have been innumerable. This valley not only maintained a considerable population, but it was a great highway for travel, abounded in game and fish, and is well-nigh lined on both banks by ideal camping sites. Particularly at the mouths of the different rivers, where there is almost invariably an interval or low terrace flat, are the conditions favourable. That such situations were thus occupied is indeed told us by Gyles, who, describing his descent of the St. John about 1690, tells us, "As we passed down by the mouths of any large branches, we saw Indians." It is only the principal of these camping grounds which can be described here.

- A.—Madawaska.** Probably this was never an extensive settlement: St. Valier, before 1688, found there a cabin of Christian Indians from Sillery, and Gyles, who was there about 1690, says "There an old man lived and kept a sort of trading-house." This is probably the place referred to by Cadillac in 1692,—“Forty-four leagues further, [above Meductic] is another fort where the Canibas ordinarily retreat to when they fear anything in their own country.” An “Indian village” is marked below the mouth of the river on the Peachy map of 1743 or later, and on others following it. Allan (in Kidder, 306) says there was a large village there in 1793. Bishop Plessis records that in 1812 but two wigwams remained of a former Indian village.

Perley, in his Report of 1841, fully describes the condition of the village, and gives tradition to show that it was formerly of considerable size. At present there is a small Indian village and reservation about two miles below the mouth of the Madawaska. The Chief of this village has told me that in old times their settlement was just below the mouth of the river on an intervalle, and that their burial ground was on a mound easily distinguishable about three-fourths of a mile below the Madawaska.

B.—Grand Falls. I have found no record of a settlement here, but no doubt there were camping places at the ends of the important portage around the falls. Professor Bailey, in his "Relics of the Stone Age," states that Indian implements have been found here in considerable variety. The exact situation of this portage will be described later.

C.—Aroostook Falls. Professor Bailey states that Indian implements have been found here in considerable abundance, indicating a camping ground.

D.—Indian Point. At the mouth of Tobique. Important as this settlement now is (the largest on the St. John), it is nevertheless not very old. It was first legally established in 1801. St. Valier, in his narrative of his voyage down the river before 1688, makes no mention of it, nor does Gyles, nor any writer in the last century that I can find, though without doubt so important a place must have been much used, at least as a camping ground. An "Indian Chapel" is marked here on Foulis' map of 1826, and a full account of the settlement is in Perley's Report of 1841. The name Tobique is said by the Indians, and I believe correctly, to have been given by the whites for the name of a chief who formerly lived at its mouth. The name of this chief appears as Toubick, Tobic, etc., in various documents of the last century, and the name was applied to the river at least as early as 1783 (Munro's Report and Morris' Map).

No doubt Nictau has been an important camp ground from very early times. There is an *Indian Bay* and an *Indian Point* at the eastern end of Nictor Lake, which probably indicate camp-sites.

The site of the village of Hartland is a very favourable one for a camping ground, especially since at the mouth of the Becaguimec is a famous salmon pool; the word *guimec* indeed means in Maliseet, "a salmon-pool." There is an *Indian Brook* and *Lake* on the south branch of the Becaguimec, probably a resort of the Indians.

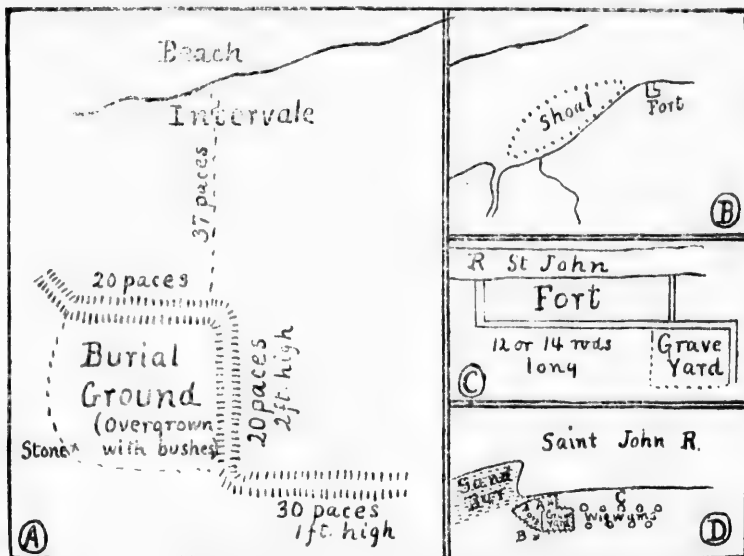
E.—Meduxnakeag. There was a camping place there mentioned by Gyles, and it was probably on the island in front of the river, as pointed out by Mr. Raymond in his "Old Meductic Fort" (p. 241).

F.—Meductic. The history of this village has been traced by Rev. W. O. Raymond with the most satisfactory fulness and care, in his "The Old Meductic Fort." This village was undoubtedly historically the most important on the River St. John, and the only permanent settlement on the river occupied from the beginning of the historic period down to the middle of the present century. It stood on a rich intervalle at the beginning of the Meductic portage to Eel River (to be described below) about four miles above the mouth of Eel River, and included a fort as well as a village. The map of the surroundings given by Mr. Raymond (page 226) shows its particular location on the flat. St. Valier before 1688 spoke of it as the "premier fort de L'Acadie," of course in reference to its position as one came from Quebec. Villebon in his Journal of 1691 calls it an Indian fort, and Cadillac in 1692 also calls it a fort. Gyles and Pote have much to say

of it, and there is a full account of it in 1841 in Perley's Report. Shortly after 1841 the Indians were removed from Meductic to a site purchased for them by the Provincial Government three miles below Woodstock, where a few of them still live. Portions of the fort and burial ground are still visible and well known, but there is some doubt as to the precise relative position of the two. In map No. 1, A represents my own plan made on the spot in 1892; B is from an old plan in the Crown Land office; C is from a Ms. sketch of the locality made by Mr. Hay, the owner, about 1892, and D is from Mr. Raymond's Map, made in 1896.

Morley's Rock, in Eel River, above Benton, is said locally to be an old Indian camping ground.

There is an *Indian Lake* on the Shegomoc, which probably marks a resort of theirs.



MAP NO. 1. SITE OF MEDUCTIC FORT.

- A. Plan made by the author in 1892.
- B. From plan in Crown Land office made in 1790.
- C. Plan made by owner of the fort site, 1892.
- D. From Raymond's map of 1896.

G.—The Morris Map of 1784 marks a group of "Indian Wigwags" just above Middle Southampton, on the east bank of the river, but I know nothing further of this location.

H.—**Indian Village, Kingsclear.** This village, now the second in importance on the St. John, is comparatively modern. The Indians moved here after the sale of *Aucpac*, in 1794.

I.—**Ek-pa'-hak.** (*Aucpac, Oak Park, etc.*) This village was at Springhill, about the mouth of Springhill Brook, including also Harts and Savage Islands.

In the last century this was the most important village on the St. John, much surpassing Meductie after about 1750. There is no reference whatever to it that I have been able to find before the census of 1733 which mentions *Ecoupay*. Pote speaks of it under the name *Apog* and *Apoge*, in 1745. Had it existed much earlier it could scarcely have escaped mention in some of the many documents of the preceding century. Pote refers to it as a considerable village. Upon Morris' map of the St. John, made originally in 1765 (my copy is about 1774), occurs the following important inscription: "Aughpack is about Seven Miles above St. Anns, and at this place was the Indian Church, and the Residence of the French Missionary, the Church and other Buildings about it are all demolished by the Indians themselves. An Island opposite Aughpack, called Indian Island, is the place where the Indians of St. John make their Annual Rendezvous, on this Island is their Town consisting of about Forty mean Houses or Wigwams built with slender poles, and covered with Bark; in the Center of this Town is their Grand Council Chamber constructed after the same manner as their other Houses, and here all differences and disputes are settled and Hunting Grounds Allotted to each Family before they begin their Summer Hunts. These Affairs are generally settled about the Beginning of July."

In 1765, then, Aucpac would appear to have been abandoned. But it was not for long, for, as an entry in the registers of the church at Indian Village shows, in 1767 the bell and other articles of the chapel at Meductie were removed to Aucpac, and in 1777, as proved by the journal of Colonel Allan, the village was again occupied and important. It was thenceforth inhabited by the Indians until 1794, when they sold the site of their village, and also Savage Island, and removed in a body to Indian Village, where they have since lived. The Indian Island on which the council chamber stood was the present Savage Island. Aucpac was also called *Saint Annes*, a name apparently transferred from St. Annes Point, and it was taken with them when they removed to the present Indian Village. As applied to Aucpac, it persisted for a time as the name of Harts Island, which on old plans is called Sandon (corruption of Sainte Anne) Island. Savage Island is called in Maliseet, *N'ca-ne-b-dan*, or "Old Town," while Harts Island is *Wa-ca-loo-sen*, "a fort," and their tradition is that Savage Island was their original stronghold, but it was too large to defend, so they moved to the smaller one.

Indian bodies have been found at Curries Mountain in excavating for the railroad, showing a burial ground there.

J.—St. Annes Point. There appears to have been an ancient settlement at St. Annes Point on or near where Government House now stands, and an ancient burial place there. The latter is locally believed to have been in the shrubbery behind the present carriage-house. In 1765 a grant of four acres here was made to the Indians by the Nova Scotian Government.

Cadillac in 1692 speaks of a Miennac fort at a place called Naxehouac [Nashwaak], but there is no other evidence of this.

K.—Indian Camps at St. Marys. This considerable settlement opposite Fredericton is comparatively modern. The Indians have had no grant or reservation here, but have held a small tract from early in this century simply by occupation. They were probably attracted to the locality through its proximity to Fredericton.

L.—Oromocto. At the mouth of this river, near the bridge, was an Indian burial ground, mentioned by Ward (p. 40), and probably here was an Indian

camp site. There is now at Oromocto a reservation and settlement, both modern.

It is altogether probable that the Acadian Indians, in one locality at least, made Pictographs, the case of Fairy Lake, in Nova Scotia, being well known and often described. Nothing of this kind is known in New Brunswick, with the single exception of a possible case on the Oromocto River. It is thus described by its discoverer, Mr. C. W. Beckwith, of Fredericton, in a letter to Dr. G. F. Matthew, of St. John, and I am indebted to Mr. S. W. Kain for the opportunity to quote it here: "In August, 1890, coming down North Oromocto River in a canoe from the lake, I landed on the westerly shore to camp, about one mile above the mouth of Lyon's Stream. We deposited our baggage on a large flat rock, laying the canoe alongside of it. It was dark when we landed, but in the morning my son, who was with me, called my attention to the rock. On its face was roughly cut in a plan or map, apparently answering to the forks of the Oromocto River, with curious figures; some that appeared to indicate men and arrows pointing in different directions. The stone was, I think, common sandstone, cut into by a harder substance, and the figures had an odd appearance. There were no letters, and it did not appear to have been made by a civilized being, but looked to me like some old Indian landmark. The stone, I should judge, was irregular, almost round, about four or five feet across, and varying from one to three feet in thickness. The water was very low at the time."

M.—In Marston's diary of 1785, it is said there was an Indian settlement on Salmon River, two miles below the Gaspereau, but I know nothing of it. There must have been many important camp sites about Grand Lake.

N.—**Indian Point**, on the thoroughfare between Grand and Maquapit Lakes. An account of this site is given in the Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, VI., 6, and XIII., 84. From the abundance of relics found there, it must have been a camp site of much importance. The only historical reference to it known to me is a mention of Indians camping back of Maugerville in 1778. (Collections N. B. Hist. Soc., I., 322.)

The Indians have a favourite camping place just above the village of Gagetown, and, probably, judging from its situation, this, or some other near it, has been used from very ancient times.

O.—It is said by residents that there was an old Indian camping ground on a point back of Owen Cory's farm on the Canaan River, south side, about five miles above the North Forks.

In a letter of Shirley to Lawrence (N. S. Archives, 435) he speaks of "The old Indian town called Naducteek, which is situated at or near the portage between the rivers St. John's and Pateotyek," but of this I can find no other mention. The small stream below Spoon Id. on the west side is called by the Maliseets *No-dec-tic*, and possibly a village stood on the intervalle there.

P.—**Nerepis**. At the mouth of the Nerepis formerly stood a small fort, whose location and history will be later described. Originally it appears to have been built by the Indians, as were those of Meductic and Richibucto for Villebon, in his diary of 1696, speaks of the "fort des Sauvages de Nerepisse."

Q.—**Apohaqui**. According to Allison, "There was a large Indian village of some description and of more or less permanent character.... at the junction of the

Millstream with the Kennebecasis," as shown by the presence of an Indian burial-ground, and numerous Indian relics dug up there. This village stood on the lower or western angle between the two rivers. At present there is a small modern Maliseet encampment near the village of Apohaqui. There is some reason to think that Ap-a-hak is the ancient name of this village, which suggests a possible connection of the name with Ek-pa-hak (Aucpae).

The three small islands known as "The Brothers," in the Kennebecasis off Milledgeville are now an Indian reserve and occupied irregularly by the Indians.

R.—St. John. Champlain first entered St. John Harbour in 1604, and on the map of the harbour in his narrative a cabin is drawn on Navy Island, and with it is given a letter answering to this description: "Cabane où se fortifient les sauvages." This would seem to settle the site of the village even though Lescarbot, who visited the harbour two or three years later, describes it as upon a hillock or knoll. He says, "La ville d'Ouigoudi (ainsi j'appelle la demeure dudit Chkoudun) estoit un grand enclos sur un terre fermé de hauts et menus arbres attachez l'un contre l'autre, et au dedans plusieurs cabanes grandes et petites, l'une desquelles estoit aussi grande qu'une halle, où se retiroient beaucoup de menages: et quant à celle où ils faisoient la Tabagie, elle estoit un peu moindre" (Histoire, II., 570, ed. 1866). This name, *Ouigoudi*, applied by Lescarbot to the village, is the true Indian name for a village site, though by Champlain it was supposed to apply to the river. This error of his has long persisted and is repeated by some writers even at the present day. (See Place-Nomenclature, p. 269).

S.—Indiantown. In 1779 an "Indian House" for trade with the Indians was established here, but I have not found any earlier reference to a camp site or settlement. No doubt, however, it was an important camping place, for it is the lowest good spot for the purpose on the river above the Falls, and was near the portage, later to be described, which, to avoid the Falls, ran across the ridge from Marble Cove to the Harbour.

It is probable there was a camping place at Mahogany Island, the Indian name for which means "place for clams."

There are temporary camping places at several points along the river, notably Hampsted, Norton, Rothesay. The Indians own no land at those places, but are generally allowed to camp where they choose.

There is an *Indian Lake* on the Musquash which perhaps marks an Indian resort.

3. The Petitcodiac-Missequash District.

The information I have been able to gather on this district is very scanty, and there must be many important camp and village sites that I have missed.

A.—Indian Mountain. This hill is eight miles northwest of Moncton. It is said locally to be so named because the first settlers found Indians there when they arrived, but I am told by a resident there was no regular camping-place there. Possibly it was a centre for hunting cariboo.

B.—Salisbury. There is said to have been a regular camp-ground here. Perhaps it was at the end of the portage leading to the Washademoac.

C.—The Bend. It is said by the Indians there was formerly a camping-ground at Hall's Creek, probably on the site of Moncton.

D.—Fort Folly. This considerable reservation is on the Petitcodiac, a mile and a half above Folly Point. It was established in 1839, and from its very favourable situation is probably an ancient camp site. The Indians removed here from near Dorchester, whence it is sometimes called the Dorchester Reserve.

At the head of the Memramcook is a branch called on some maps (as Wilkinson's) *Indian stream*. It was probably so named because it was part of the old Indian portage from this river to the Scadoué, and not because of an Indian settlement.

E.—Just to the northward of the mouth of Shepody River is a small island called on the charts *Indian Island*, which perhaps marks a resort of theirs.

F.—Dorchester. Early maps, particularly the fine French map of the Isthmus of 1755 (1779) places "Indiens" with a number of houses on some stream south of the present Dorchester, but the topography is too imperfect to allow us to locate this settlement exactly. It may have been on Johnston's Creek flowing into Grand Ance, or on Palmer brook just south of Dorchester. A resident, Mr. S. C. W. Chapman, of Dorchester, tells me there was before 1834 an Indian settlement near Dorchester, where Sackville street crosses Palmer Brook, east of the brook and north of the road. He states there was another on the Chapman farm, north of Dorchester, south of the road to Woodhurst. The Indians from both of these settlements afterwards settled on the Fort Folly Reserve (see above, D). Often called the Dorchester Reserve.

G.—Westcock. I am told by Mr. Chapman, of Dorchester, there was formerly an important camping ground on Westcock Brook, with a trail between it and that on Palmer Brook, near Dorchester. Another was on Allan Brook, near Wood Point.

H.—Midjie. This is said by the Indians to have been formerly one of their most important camping grounds.

I.—Cape Tormentine. South of this point the map marks *Indian Point*, known to be a former camping place. An account of the relics found here has been published by W. L. Goodwin, in Canadian Record of Science, Jan., 1893.

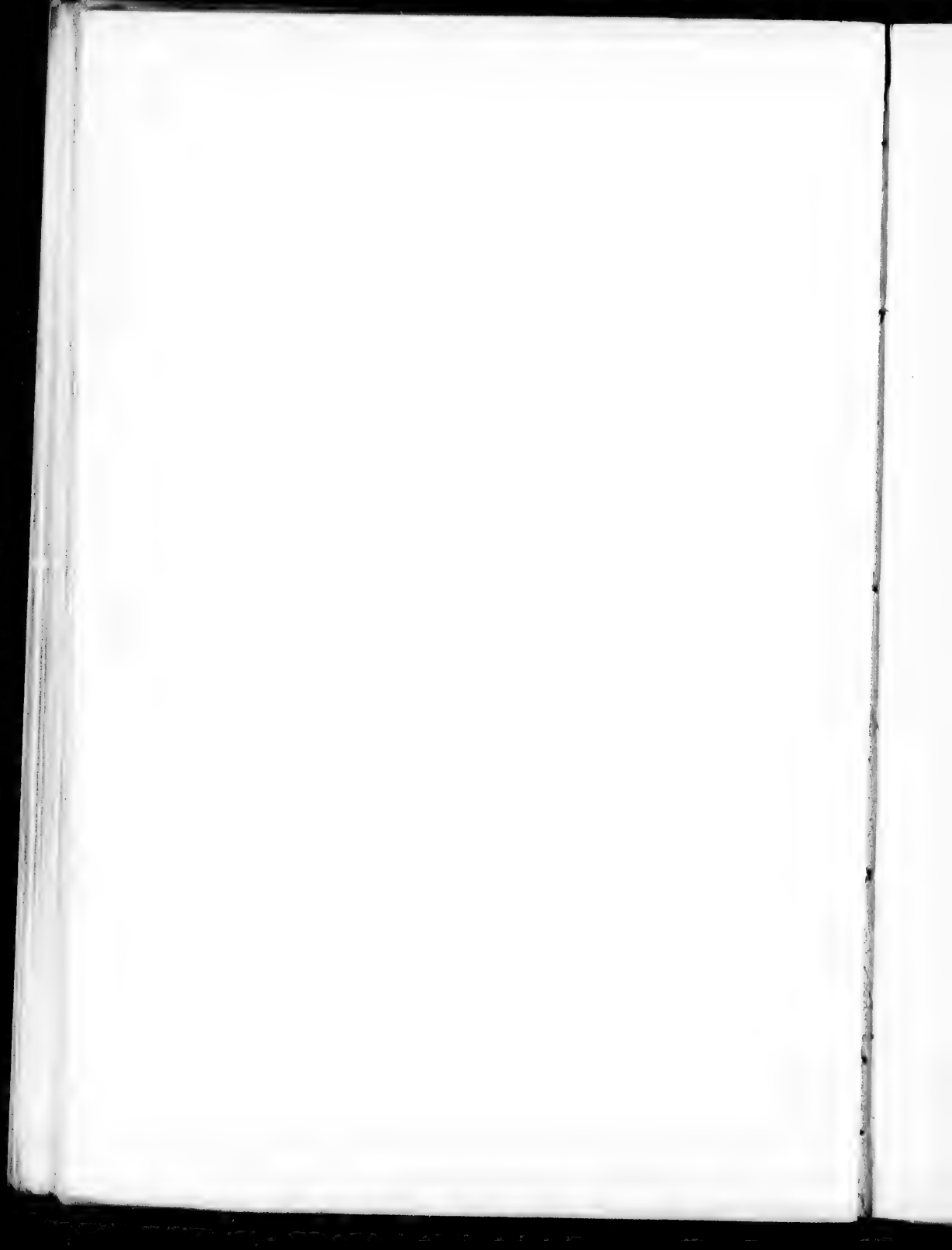
It is said that important settlements in the last century existed at Tidenish and Agamore Heads, in Nova Scotia. Franquet's map, given later in this paper (Map No. 26) shows traces of Indian settlement near Baie Verte, and he mentions the cabins of five or six families of Indians between Fort Gaspereau and Bay Verte.

4. *The Richibucto District.*

On the small island at Shediac, called *Indian Island*, are remains of a small fort to be described later; possibly it was not a French, but an Indian fort. It is said there were formerly important camping grounds at the mouths of the Shediac and Scadoué Rivers. There is a small reserve at Shediac not now occupied.

A.—Indian Point, Buctouche. A plan of 1794 marks "Indian Village" just west of the point, between it and Mescogones, or Black River. The present Buctouche Settlement and Reserve is about two miles west of Buctouche Village.

B.—Richibucto. A large Indian village and Fort formerly existed on this river. It is first distinctly referred to by Denys in 1672 (p. 176), who says it stood on the border of the basin. "Le Capitaine de Richibouctou . . . a sur



le bord du bassin de cette riviere un Fort fait de pieux assez gros, avec deux formes de bastions, & dans lequel est sa cabanne & les autres sauvages cabannent autour de luy." The fort is mentioned also in 1688 by St. Valier. The local tradition is that this village was on Indian Island, just inside the entrance to the harbour on the south. It is, however, possible that it stood on the present site of the town, and that the Indian Island settlement was later. The present Indian Island settlement is on the mainland, opposite the island.

Some charts mark an *Indian Village* on the south side of the river, below Kingston, and there is now a large Indian settlement on a reservation at Molus River, known as Big Cove. There must have been many other important villages in this district.

5. *The Miramichi District.*

A.—Clearwater. An ancient camping ground at the mouth of this stream is mentioned by Bailey in his "Relics of the Stone-Age" (p. 6). Mr. Wm. McInnes, of the Canadian Geological Survey, who has examined the place, writes me as follows about it: "In the angle on the left bank of these streams there were to be seen some interesting remains of old defence works, consisting of a cellar-like excavation with elevated rim towards the Miramichi, and several smaller shelters of heaped-up large boulders extending down the bank of the river at intervals of fifty yards or so from one another, each capable of concealing two or three men only. There was a mound also about five feet high by eight in diameter, which, through want of any tools, we were unable to properly examine. On the opposite bank of the Clearwater I dug up one large spear-head with several broken arrow-heads of quartz or jasper. These were lying in a stratum of soil and ashes about ten inches below the present surface. All through this layer of ashes, etc., were to be found chips and broken angular pieces of the red jasper." The same locality has been described for me by Mr. John Hayes, of Hayesville, as follows: "At the mouth of the Clearwater . . . is an old camping ground. There have been holes dug in the ground from ten to fifteen feet across, and about six feet deep. I helped to dig some of these holes out, and found a number of stone axes and lots of stone arrow-heads, whose colour is dark red or white. These holes are nearly filled with leaves and other stuff that has collected in them, but one can tell where they are quite easily. They have all been walled up from the bottom with rough stone." It is plain that a most interesting locality here awaits thorough investigation.

At the Forks, mouth of Chais River, Indian relics have been found, and the locality is most favourable for a camping-ground.

B.—Indiantown, at the mouth of the Renous. Probably an old settlement, though I have found no special reference to it. There is a reserve, not now occupied, on the Renous.

Several branches of the Miramichi are named for Indians who lived on them, probably at their mouths. Such are *Cains*, *Taxis*, *Renous*, *Bartholomews*, *Barnaby*, *Bartibog*. (See Place-Nomenclature, page 189.)

C.—Chalmers, in his Geological Report for 1887, N 31, mentions an old camp-site a few miles above Derby Junction.

D.—Red Bank. This a large settlement on a reservation, and probably an ancient site. It is probably the "old Indian Town" mentioned in 1801 in Coll. N. B.

Hist. Soc., II., 95. Across the river from it is another at *Indian Point*. At Big Hole, near the mouth of the Sevogle, is a reserve not occupied.

There is also said to have been a camp ground on the land of Chas. Sargeant, above Douglastown.

- E.—Bel Ground**, above Newcastle (in Micmac *Na-doo-aan*). This is at present the second largest Micmac settlement on the Miramichi, on a large reservation. Two miles above Strawberry Point on the north side of the river on the shore are said to be the remains of an old Indian burial-ground.

- F.—Burnt Church**. This is one of the most ancient and important Micmac settlements in this district. In Micmac it is called *Es-kun-oo-ob-a-dich*, and without doubt this is the place called *Skinoubondiche* in St. Valier's narrative of 1688. It was here, St. Valier says, the three leagues of land offered to the Recollets for a mission by Sieur Richard Denys de Fronsac were chosen, and the mission was established in 1685-86, and probably from that time to the present it has been occupied by the Indians, and a mission nearly continuously maintained. In 1758 or 1759 the church was burnt by the English, originating its present name. This mission is referred to by LeClercq in his work of 1691 on Gaspé. There is a large Indian reserve here and a considerable settlement, which is very old. Perley's account of its favourable situation has been already quoted. A brook on this reserve is called "Reserve" or "Indian" Brook.

There must have been many camp sites along the shores of Miramichi Bay, of which I have no record. On the south side of Miramichi Bay there are said to have been camp sites of minor importance at the mouth of Bay du Vin River, at Hardwicke, and on the eastern shore of Lower Bay du Vin Bay.

- G. Indian Point**, north side of the entrance to Tabusintac River. An account with map, of the locality and of Indian relics found there, is given in Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, No. V., and by Chalmers in his Geological Report for 1887, N 31.

There is a Reserve on the Tabusintac not now occupied.

6. The Nepisiguit District.

- A.—Pokemouche**. On this river is an Indian reservation not now occupied. Perley refers to a former reserve in his Report of 1841.
- B.—Indian Point**, south of Shippegan Village. A favourable situation, probably much used.
- C.—Indian Point**, Miscou Harbor. So given on an old plan, and no doubt marking an old camp-site, (see Map No. 34).
- D.—Money Island**, Miscou Harbor. This is said to have been a favourite Indian camping place in past times, and there is an Indian burial-ground there.
- E.—Indian Island** (or St. Peters Island) in Bathurst Harbor. Now an Indian Reserve, and occupied by a very small settlement. There is also a reserve on the river at Rough Waters, which includes an island known as *Prisks* or *Indian Island*. No doubt there was an important camp-site at Grand Falls, below which the salmon fishing is particularly good.

Probably there was a camping-site at *Indian Falls*, as implied by its name.

No doubt too there were sites at the mouths of all of the rivers along the Bay Chaleur, and at Caraque, but on these I have been able to obtain no information.

7. The Restigouche District.

A.—Old Mission Point. The tradition among both Indians and whites is that the settlement now at Mission Point, Quebec, opposite Campbellton, was formerly at Old Mission Point on the New Brunswick side. Herdman in his *History of Restigouche* states that at Old Mission Point was the land granted by Richard Denys in 1685 for a Mission, and that there was formerly a village there, stockaded, with a chapel and burying ground within. This is probably correct. Many Indian relics have been found on the point, and many skeletons have been unearthed by the washing away of the banks. This was no doubt the village of Restgouch mentioned in the Jesuit Relation of 1642, and by St. Valier in 1688. The movement across the river must have taken place about the middle of the last century, for the fine Survey map of about 1754 marks "Village Sauvage" on the Quebec side. Herdman states that they removed to the Quebec side in 1745, and Plessis places the formation of the mission in 1759. Von Velden's map of 1785 has "Indian Village La Mission," on the Quebec side, and he states they have a neat log church.

Probably there were camping-places at the mouths of the principal branches of the Restigouche, all of which have admirable sites for the purpose.

B.—Dalhousie. This place affords a most admirable camping-site. On the French Chart of about 1778 the point on which Dalhousie stands is called *Indienne Pointe*, and the island lying off Dalhousie is *Indienne Isle*. *Indian Point* occurs also on Purdy, 1814, and Bouchette, 1831.

C.—Eel River. Here is an Indian reserve and a settlement, which, as the fishing for eels is one of the best in the country, is probably on an old site.

D.—Heron Island. In Micmac this island is *Tes-ne-gek*, and LeClercq in 1691 refers to it as a famous place and a cemetery of the Indians of Restigouche, "P'Isle de Tisniguet, lieu fameux et ancien cimetiere des Gaspesiens de Ristigouche."

Indian relics have been found at the mouth of Jacquet River, indicating a camp-site. Probably there were camping-grounds at the mouths of all the rivers of this coast from Eel River to Nepisiguit.

3. INDIAN ROUTES OF TRAVEL IN NEW BRUNSWICK.

The Indians of New Brunswick, like others of North America, were, within certain limits, great wanderers. For hunting, war, or treaty making, they passed incessantly not only throughout their own territory but over that limit into the lands of other tribes.¹ The Indian tribes of Acadia have never, within historic times, been at war with one another, but they joined in war against other tribes and mingled often with one

¹ John Allan in a report of 1793 (Kidder, 308) says:—"The very easy conveyance by the Lakes, rivers and Streams so interspersed in this Country, they can easy take their women children and baggage, where ever their Interest, Curiosity, or caprice may lead them, & their natural propensity for roving is such that you will see families in the course of a year go thro' the greatest part of this extent."

another for that and other reasons. In facilities for such travel our Indians were exceptionally fortunate, for the Province is everywhere intersected by rivers readily navigable by their light canoes. Indeed, I doubt if anywhere else in the world is an equal extent of territory so completely watered by navigable streams, or whether in any other country canoe navigation was ever brought to such a pitch of perfection, or so exclusively relied upon for locomotion. The principal streams of the Province head together curiously in pairs, the country is almost invariably easy to travel between their sources, and a route may be found in almost any desired direction, features which come out well in the accompanying map of New Brunswick, showing the Indian routes of travel. (Map No. 12.) But it was not only this fortunate arrangement of the rivers which made travel easy, but also the way in which the Indian adapted himself to it by the construction of his exquisite birch canoe, a craft which has excited the admiration of all writers from Champlain to our own day, and which is a constant delight to all of us who know it well. A Maliseet canoe, which will carry four persons, weighs less than a hundred pounds, and draws but a few inches of water. On the shallow rivers it is used but partly loaded, and then it draws not over three or four inches, and needs a channel of less than two feet in breadth. A skilled canoe man, with a light pole of nine feet in length, can force such a craft up the swiftest of rivers, surmounting rapids and even low falls, guiding it with the greatest nicety among rocks and with exactness into the deepest places. If the water is too shallow in places for even it to float, the Indian covers its bottom with "shoes" or splints of cedar, and thus drags it unharmed over the wet stones. Finally, when the head of the river is reached, he turns it upside down over his head, allowing the middle bar, on which it exactly balances, to rest across his shoulders, and then trots off over the portage path.

The rate at which the Indians could travel upon the rivers depended upon the character of the river channel, its amount of descent, and whether smooth or broken by falls, upon the height of the water, and especially upon whether they went with or against the current. Up such a river as the Tobique they can go but twenty miles a day, though more on a spurt, but they can descend it at the rate of sixty or more miles a day. When the St. John is at freshet height, they could descend a hundred or more miles a day, but could ascend only a fraction of that distance against it. The Indian couriers employed to carry despatches between Quebec and Nova Scotia in the last century often made remarkable speed. Thus Morris, on his map of 1749, states that they passed from Chignecto to Quebec by the St. John and Ouelle in seven days, a statement almost incredible. Dénonville¹ states that they went by

¹ See later page, under Portages, 15 F.

the Rivière du Sud to Port Royal in eight days, which is easier to believe when we recall the swift current of the St. John in spring.¹

The different rivers of the Province differ considerably in the amount of descent from their heads to the sea, and in the freedom of their channels from falls and rapids. Thus the St. John, from every point of view the most important of our ancient routes of travel, although it has a considerable descent, and hence usually a rapid current, is remarkably free from obstructions, the Grand Falls and some rapids above the Allagash being the only real impediments to continuous canoe navigation. Of the other rivers, all of those in the more level parts of the province, particularly those in the great central and eastern carboniferous area, have but little descent and have cut smooth channels from the soft sandstone rock. Such are the Kennebecasis, Petitcodiac, Washademoak, Salmon River, Oromocto, Richibucto, and the Lower Miramichi. Again, the Restigouche, though flowing in a hilly country, has not a great descent, less than 500 feet, and has cut for itself a smooth channel in the soft limestone rocks. On the other hand, the rivers of Charlotte, flowing with considerable descent over hard rocks in shallow valleys obstructed by glacial drift, have rough channels, with many rapids and falls. This is yet better marked in the south branch of Tobique, the Nepisiguit, Upsalquitch, and Little South West Miramichi, which rise in an elevated region of hard rocks, and thus have a large descent usually much obstructed by falls and rapids. In these respects the hardest of all of our rivers for navigation is the Little South West Miramichi, which falls twelve hundred feet, and has several bad falls and very numerous rapids. The Nepisiguit is also a rough river. Green River is continuously rapid, though with a few small falls, while the Madawaska is very smooth and the St. Francis is intermediate. It is plain that in selecting their routes of travel, other things being equal, the rivers of least descent and fewest obstructions would be chosen, even in preference to those somewhat shorter. For this reason, no doubt, the Restigouche has been a favourite from early times.

Another difficulty which the canoeemen on all of these rivers must face is the low level to which they often fall in summer. Low water, when it cannot be avoided, is met by the Indian in the way already mentioned; he protects the bottom of his canoe by wooden splints and drags it unhurt over the wet stones. But this method is not only slow and laborious, but there are times in exceptionally dry seasons when some of our rivers usually navigable become quite impassable. We cannot, how-

¹ John Allan, in a report of 1793, (Kidder, 307), says: "The Indians have told me, when the stream was rapid they have delivered letters to the French commanding Officer at the mouth of St. John, in four days from Quebec." In May, 1888, Messrs. A. W. and R. B. Straton, of Fredericton, ran in a birch canoe from Grand Falls to Fredericton in one day, covering the 130 miles in less than 15 hours, including all stops. *Newspaper accounts published at the time.*

ever, judge of the conditions in this respect in prehistoric times by the present, for, as a result of clearing away the forest, many of our rivers in the best settled districts no doubt fall now much below the level they maintained when their valleys were wooded. This is not only confirmed by analogy with other countries, but is illustrated by a comparison of the levels of those rivers flowing to-day from the wooded parts of the province with those in the settled districts. The former will carry abundant water, while the latter are nearly dry. There are differences in this respect, too, according as the rivers have lakes upon them, storing water, or not. Of course, the degree to which a river held its water up in summer, was an important factor in determining its value as a route of travel. It would be true also that the freshet season in spring, or occasional times in summer and autumn, would allow streams to be navigated which at ordinary times would be impassable, and probably there were portage routes used at such times which could not be ordinarily reached. When the water was low, too, the sea coasts could in some cases be made part of such a route, as from the St. John to Petitcodiac, or from near Bathurst to the St. John, via the Restigouche.

No doubt, an Indian in selecting his route of travel to a given point, where more than one offered, would average up, as a white man would do, the advantages and drawbacks of each for that particular season, taking account of the length of the routes, amount of falls and portaging, the height of the water, etc., and his decision would be a resultant of all the conditions and would be different in different seasons. It is not easy to understand why so many routes from the St. John to Quebec were in use, unless some offered advantages at one time, others at another.

Between the heads of the principal rivers were portage paths. Some of these are but a mile or two long—others longer. Some of these portages are still in use and uninfluenced by civilization. A good type is that between Nictor Lake and Nepisiguit Lake, which I have recently seen. The path is but wide enough to allow a man and canoe to pass. Where it is crossed by newly fallen trees the first passer either cuts them out, steps over them, or goes round, as may be easiest, and his example is followed by the next. In this way the exact line of the path is constantly changing, though in the main its course is kept. No doubt some of these paths are of great antiquity. Gesner states¹ that one of the most used, that between Eel River Lake and North Lake, on the route from the St. John to the Penobscot, had been used so long that the solid rocks had been worn into furrows by the tread of moccasined feet; and Kidder² quotes this and comments upon it as probably the most ancient evidence of mankind in New England. A somewhat similar statement is made by

¹ New Brunswick, 80.

² Revolutionary Operations, 80, 84.

Monro¹ as to the Misseguash—Baie Verte portage. I have seen something very similar on the old portage path around Indian Falls on the Nepisiguit, but I am inclined to think it is the hob-nailed and spiked shoes of the lumbermen which have scored these rocks, and not Indian moccasins; and it is altogether likely that this explanation will apply also to the case mentioned by Gesner, whose over-enthusiastic temperament led him into exaggerated statements. In New Brunswick the lines of regular travel seem to have followed exclusively the rivers and the portage paths between their heads, and there is no evidence whatever of former extensive trails leading from one locality to another through the woods, such as are well known to have existed in Massachusetts. The difference in the distribution and navigability of the rivers amply explain this difference. It is not, of course, to be supposed that the Indians never departed from these routes; in their hunting expeditions they undoubtedly wandered far and wide, and especially in the valleys of the smaller and navigable brooks. Moreover, they undoubtedly had portages used only on rare occasions, and also at times forced their way over between streams where there was no regular route,² but in general the main rivers gave them ample facilities for through travel from one part of the province to another, and they had no other method. The birch canoe was the universal vehicle of locomotion to the New Brunswick Indian; it was to him what the pony is to the Indian of the West.

The labour of crossing the portages was always severe, but the Indians took, and take, it philosophically, as they do everything that cannot be helped.³ While canoe travel in good weather, on full and easy rivers, is altogether charming, it becomes otherwise when low water, long portages and bad weather prevail. We obtain vivid pictures of its hardships from the narratives of St. Valier, and from several of the Jesuit missionaries.⁴

Since many of the portage paths are still in use by Indians, hunters, and lumbermen, their positions are easy to identify, and many of them are marked upon the excellent maps of the Geological Survey. Many others, however, have been long disused, and have been more or less obliterated by settlement, or by roads which follow them,⁵ and these are

¹ See later page, under Portages, 7 A.

² In their hunting expeditions the Indians often left their canoes where the portages were long and difficult, and constructed new ones of spruce bark for temporary use on lakes. Gordon refers to spruce bark canoes (*Wilderness Journeys*, page 51), as does Hind (*Geological Report*, page 153). Other references occur in Thoreau, *Maine Woods* (Ed. 1864, p. 206), and in *History of Houlton*, p. 25, John Gyles, in his narrative (p. 20), speaks of canoes made of moose hide.

³ Allan (117, 118), gives a good idea of this.

⁴ See, for instance, *Jesuit Relations*, xxxvii, 245.

⁵ Whites and Indians, actuated by the same motives, i. e., to find the shortest and easiest route between two river basins, would naturally run portage paths and highway roads over the same course. This was the case with the Eel River-North Lake portage and many others.

not marked upon our recent maps. I have made a special effort to determine the exact courses of these portages before they are lost for ever, and where I have been able to find them by the aid of residents, I have given them on the small maps accompanying this paper, (Maps No. 2-11.) All portages known to me are marked upon the map of New Brunswick, in the Pre-historic or Indian period accompanying this paper (Map No. 12), and their routes of travel are in red on the same map. The lines show how thoroughly intersected the province was by their routes. This map does not by any means mark all of the navigable rivers, but only those which formed parts of through routes of travel. The relative importance of the routes I have tried to represent by the breadth of the lines, the most important routes having the broadest lines.

Many of the most ancient portages had distinct names, but I have not recovered any of these. Kidder gives as the ancient Indian name of the Eel River-North Lake Portage, the name Metagmouchesh (variously spelled by him), and I have heard that more than one was called simply "The Hunters Portage" by the Indians, possibly to distinguish the less important ones used only in hunting from those of the through routes. When Portages are spoken of at this day they are usually given the name of the place towards which they lead; thus, a person on the Tobique would refer to the portage at the head of that river as the Nepisiguit, or the Bathurst Portage, and on the Nepisiguit, he would speak of it as the Tobique Portage. This usage seems to be old, and perhaps is widespread. Thus Bishop Plessis, in his journal of 1812, speaking of the portage between Tracadie and Tabusintac Rivers (the latter leading to Neguac) says (page 169): "We reached a portage of two miles which the people of Tracadie call the Nigauek Portage, and those of Nigauek the Tracadie Portage."¹

The situations of many of the old portages are preserved to us in place names. Thus we have *Portage Bridge*, at the head of the Misseguash; *Portage Bank*, on the Miramichi, near Boiestown (not on the maps); *Portage River*, on the Northwest Miramichi, also as a branch of the Tracadie, also west of Point Escuminac, and also south of it; *Portage Brook*, on the Nepisiguit, leading to the Upsalquitch; *Portage Lake*, between Long and Serpentine Lakes; *Portage Station*, on the Intercolonial Railway. Kingston Creek, at the mouth of the Belleisle, was formerly called *Portage Creek*. *Anagance* is the Maliseet word for Portage; and *Wagan* and *Wagansis*, on the Restigouche and Grand River, are

¹ Probably *Cumberland Bay*, on Grand Lake, is another case, as it was on an old route to Cumberland. This same bay is called on the DeMeulles-Franquelin map of 1686 Pichkotkouet, which seems like a form of the Indian name for the Petitcodiac. Again, on Lake Metapedia, is a river called the *Matane*, from which, I believe, there was a portage to the Matane. Yet another example may be the name *Nipisigouichich*, "Little Nepisiguit," applied on the DeMeulles-Franquelin map to the Nictor branch of the Tobique, which does lead to the Nepisiguit.

the Micmac for Portage, and a diminutive of it. Portage Island has probably a different origin, as I have elsewhere shown.¹ The word Portage, as applied to a road, however, by no means implies that there was formerly a portage path in that vicinity; for it has been adopted by lumbermen, and is applied by them to the roads over which they haul their supplies to the lumber camps, and in this sense it occurs several times upon our best maps, and is thus used in some books. Moreover, the first roads built by the whites between rivers were called Portages; thus we have the Avery portage from Nashwaak to the Miramichi, and the Brown portage, from Shikatehawk to Miramichi.

Very important testimony upon the location of ancient portage-routes is given us not only in the works of Champlain, Lescarbot, Denys and others, but especially by the, (for its time) very fine map of Franquelin-DeMeulles of 1686, reproduced in the preceding monograph of this series, page 364.² In many cases, it shows portage-routes by connecting the rivers by a continuous line, as may readily be seen by comparing it with a modern map, or with Map. No. 12 in this paper.

The most important of the Indian routes of travel were along the sea-coasts and along the St. John River, and the latter was even more important than the former. I shall accordingly treat it first in detail, and then pass to consider its communication through its branches with the important inhabited basins, the Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, Petitcodiac, Miramichi, Restigouche, St. Lawrence, at the same time considering the communication of these basins with one another. I have tried to make the following list complete, and think I have missed very few, if any, of the portage routes.

The remarkable ease of communication of the St. John River with the other rivers has attracted attention of every writer from Champlain, Lescarbot and Denys down to those of the present day. It is really a most remarkable fact about this river, that, stretching away through the centre of the great New Brunswick-Maine peninsula as it does, it should send navigable branches into such close and easy communication with every other river system in that peninsula.³

1. Along the St. John.

Of all Indian routes of travel in what is now the Province of New Brunswick, the most important by far was that along the River St. John. This river was, and is, an ideal stream for canoe navigation. It not only has easy communication with every other river system in this and the neigh-

¹ Place Nomenclature, page 263.

² Unfortunately the Ottawa copy of this important map, from which the cut in my monograph was made, is full of errors and omits many names, as proven by a copy recently corrected for me by careful comparison with the original in Paris.

³ The physiographic explanation of the fact is, however, plain. It depends upon past changes in our river-systems, by which certain rivers have robbed the water from the heads of others; the portage paths follow parts of ancient valleys.

bouring provinces, but it is in itself very easy to travel. Through most of its course the water is never too low for good canoe navigation, and it has few rapids and but a single great fall.

The St. John rises in Maine and its head waters interlock with those of the Penobscot, and with the Etchemin flowing into the St. Lawrence near Quebec. A good description of its entire course is given in Bailey's "St. John River." Its upper course is easy of navigation, consisting of long deadwaters broken by short stretches of rapids. From Seven Islands to the Allagash it is more rapid and its bed more rocky, and it passes several bad rapids. Below the Allagash to Edmundston it is swift and with some rapids, but none which are dangerous, nor difficult to surmount. From Edmundston to Grand Falls the current is gentle, and there are many quiet stretches. At Grand Falls it drops in all one hundred and fifty feet. The old portage is across the neck on the west side; its course is now mostly obliterated by the buildings of the village, but its exact original course is shown on the original survey plan of the town of Colebrook (former name of the village). The Grand Falls portage, now often spoken of, is simply the road from Aroostook to the Falls. From the Falls to Tobique the river is very swift, and broken by some rapids requiring careful navigation; and from Tobique to Woodstock its course is everywhere swift, but without rapids of any account. From Woodstock to Springhill, above Fredericton, the current is mostly swift, and there is one bad rapid, the Meductie Falls, but there are many quiet reaches and some deadwater. From Springhill to the mouth the tide flows. On the lower part of the river are a few local portages. An old plan marks a portage across the neck at Gagetown, where the canal now is. Another places one between the Upper Keyhole on Grand Lake, and Maquapit Lake, a distance of somewhat less than two miles. Another, of much importance in shortening distance on the lower river, was a much travelled path from Portage (now Kingston) Creek near the mouth of the Belleisle across to Kennebecasis, and a road was early made through here and used in the last century in travelling with teams on the ice from St. John to Fredericton. The Portage is marked on the Morris map of 1765, and others, and the road is on R. Campbell's of 1788. At the mouth of the river are the Falls, passable for canoes but for a few minutes on each tide at slack water, and to avoid these there was a portage path across the narrowest part of the neck from Marble Cove to nearly opposite Navy Island. This portage is shown, though crudely, on Champlain's map of the harbour of 1604, and in detail on Bruce's fine map of the harbour of 1761, which shows also a portage from Mill Cove on the Harbour across to the Marsh Creek by the route now followed by the Intercolonial Railway, and another across Green Head, where the canal now is. On Wilkinson's map Drury Cove on the Kennebecasis is marked "Portage," which no doubt marks a much used portage to the Marsh Creek, and a route thence to Courtenay Bay.

2. *St. John—Passamaquoddy.*

A.—Along the Sea-coast. By this natural and easy route the Indians still travel in summer in their birch canoes. Though the coast is bold, harbours are very frequent, and hence danger from storms slight. At Point Lepreau the eddies are dangerous, and to avoid them there was used a path from

Indian Cove just to the west of the point, where there is still a camping-ground, across to the beach half way between Duck Cove and the Point.¹ I have also been told by old residents that there were formerly paths or trails from near the bridge on Lepreau Basin over to the head of Dipper Harbor, a distance of less than two miles. These were possibly former portages. There is a very shallow valley from the head of Lepreau Basin over to a deadwater on Moose Creek about a mile away, whence the descent is easy into Little Dipper Harbor, but I cannot find that any portage path went through this way. Near Point Lepreau on early French maps is a *Harre du Portage*, which on English maps is *Carriage Harbor* (see my *Place-Nomenclature*, page 225). On an old plan of before 1784 the name is applied to Dipper Harbor, while on Wright's fine map of 1772 it is given to the first cove east of the point. Doubtless the name refers to the use of the cove as part of the portage route.

B.—South Oromocto-Lepreau. This was no doubt an unimportant route used only by hunting parties, never as a through route. It is known to me only by its presence on Mahood's survey map of 1837, where it occurs as "Indian Portage, distance about 2½ miles," running from Tomoowa or Cranberry Lake to the southern end of South Oromocto Lake.² The south branch of Oromocto is hard to navigate because of its low water, and the Lepreau because of its incessant heavy rapids and falls.

C.—Oromocto-Magaguadavic. This route seems to have been considerably used. It is mentioned on the Morris map of 1784 and elsewhere, and is shown clearly in the Field-book of the Hedden and Campbell survey of 1796-1797. As there marked, it runs from just above the Stones Brook of the modern maps to near the southern end of the lake, and is stated to be three miles long. The Oromocto is fairly easy of navigation, except for its low water, but the Magaguadavic is much broken by rapids and falls. According to M. H. Perley, it was by this route in 1761 an exploring party led by Israel Perley reached the St. John from Machias. Over this route, too, went Captain West with a party in 1777, retreating from the St. John. (Kidder, 111, 113). In Allan's map of 1786 the portage route from Magaguadavic to Oromocto clearly runs up the Piskahegan and through two small lakes, (Peltoma and Little Lakes,) but I have no other information about such a route. This would be a shorter route between the mouths of the two rivers.

From the Magaguadavic there was a portage to the St. Croix. It is marked as "Portage said by Indians to lead to the Cheputnaticook" in the Hedden and Campbell Field-book of 1796-1797. It starts from Cranberry Brook on Lake Magaguadavic and probably ran to the Second Lake of the Little Digdegnash chain over a very rough but not hilly country. It is mentioned also by Allan in 1793 (Kidder, 306), and by Gesner in his Fourth Report on the Geology of N. B., 40.

There was another portage of some importance from the Magaguadavic to the Letang, from near the south-eastern extremity of Lake Utopia. It is described by John Mitchel in his *Ms. Field Book* (now in the library of the Maine Historical Society) of his survey of Passamaquoddy in 1764, as follows:—"The depth of Sd. Cove (i. e. that at the south eastern extremity

¹ As I have been told by Mr. Thomas, keeper of the Lighthouse, and have myself seen.

² It is shown in part on a map in Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, No. XVI., page 59.

of Lake Utopia, called by him the 'Pond') is 360 Rods about 300 Rods Up Sd. Cove there is an Indian Carrying place which goes a Cross to the Salt Watter these are the Courses of Sd. Carrying place, viz : N. 30, W. 50 Rods ; N. 40 Rods ; N. 37, W. 50 Rods these Courses is taken from the Salt watter and Runn towards the pond." The portage is marked on the Hedden and Campbell map of 1797 and on several plans. One can easily see where it started near the end of the cove and went over the lowest part of the ridge, entirely in what is now open fields.

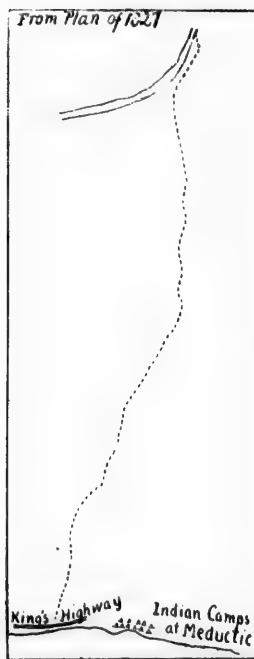
The portage around the falls at St. George was a short distance to the eastward across the narrowest part of the neck. It is marked on the Hedden-Campbell map and mentioned by Captain Owen in his Journal of 1771, though he gives it far too great a distance from the falls.

Purdy's map of 1814 marks a portage from the Magaguadavic to the Piskahegan, but this is no doubt an error, and meant to lead to the Oromocto.

D.—Pokiok-Magaguadavic. Probably not much used. The Hedden and Campbell Field-book gives from Mud Lake a "Portage to R. Pekuyauk" and the portages between Little Magaguadavic and Mud Lakes are fully shown on their map. A plan of 1827 marks a direct path from Little Magaguadavic Lake to Lake George, and reads, "Indian Road to Lake George, 3 miles," which must mean 8 miles. This portage is also mentioned by Ward (p. 63).

E.—Eel River-Chiputneticook. This was one of the most used and important of all the ancient Indian routes of travel in this part of America, for it not only formed the chief route from the St. John to Passamaquoddy, but as well was part of the great route to the Penobscot.

This route from the St. John to the Seoddie Lakes in Maine is fully described¹ in the Journal of Colonel John Allan, who passed over it in 1777 with a large company of Indians, and passed by the Seoddie to Machias. He gives as the Indian name of the Eel River—North Lake portage, Metagmouchschesh. It is shown on Allan's map of 1786, on Bouchette, 1815, and on many others since then, and also on an Indian Map of 1798.² It was by this route John Gyles was brought to New Brunswick in 1689, but



MAP No. 2. THE MEDUCTIC-
EEL RIVER PORTAGE.
From a plan of 1827 ; $\times \frac{1}{2}$.

his account of it is very brief in his narrative. There is some account of it in Bangor Historical Magazine, 1892, 159.

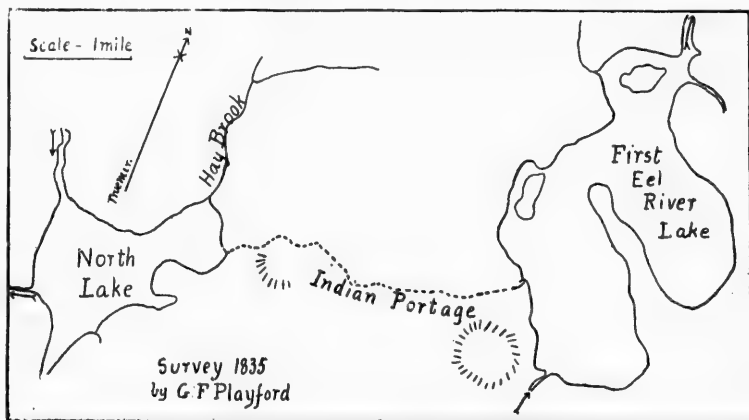
The lower part of Eel River, below the present village of Benton, is un-navigable for canoes because of falls and rapids, which were avoided by the

¹ In Kidder's "Revolutionary Operations," pp. 117-123.

² In the Library of the Maine Historical Society. Reproduced in *Magazine of American History*, XXVI., 264.

Meductic Portage. This started at Meductic Flat and went through the Gully a short distance below Meductic Fort and Village, and ran to near Benton in a course not very different from the present highway, generally somewhat north of it. An old plan of it is given herewith (Map No. 2, also No. 5). This Portage is also mentioned by John Gyles in his narrative of 1689.

Above Benton the river is very easily navigable, consisting of deadwaters separated by short rapids or falls to the First Lake. Thence the portage, about three miles long, runs somewhat to the south of and not far from the course of the present highway across to North Lake. Its direction is well shown on the accompanying map (Map No. 3, also No. 5). It is of this portage that



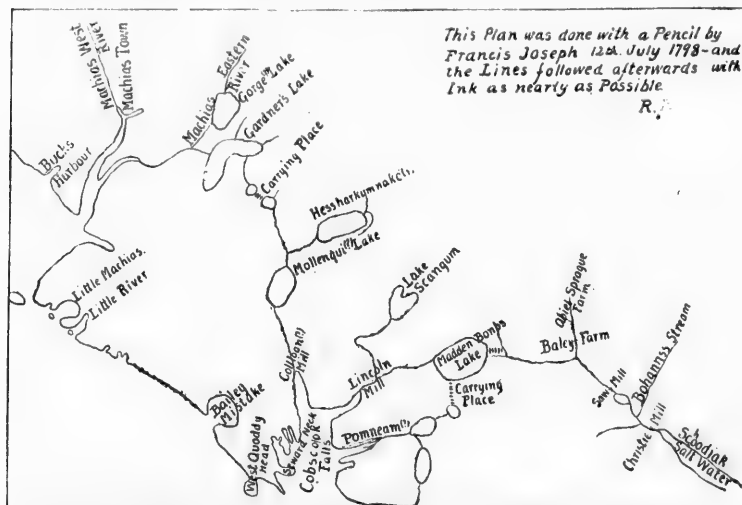
MAP NO. 3. THE EEL RIVER-CHIPUTNETICOOK PORTAGE,
From a plan of 1835; $\times \frac{1}{2}$.

Gesner said the solid granite rocks were hollowed by the wear of ages of moraines feet, a statement I doubt (see earlier, page 236). North Lake empties by a thoroughfare into Grand Lake, whence starts the portage to the Penobscot, later to be described (see below 3 A). In passing from Grand to Chipneck lake a portage is necessary to avoid the falls, and this runs from Mud Lake, below Forest City, across the neck (map No. 5). It is mentioned by Allan. The St. Croix is rather difficult of navigation to the bay; it is much broken by falls and rapids interspersed between considerable deadwaters. From the Scoddie Lakes there is a portage to the Machias (see below) and another to the Penobscot (3 B).

In the route down the St. Croix to Cobscook Bay there was a portage to Meddybemps Lake, and thence the route lay down the Denys River. This portage is clearly shown on a plan drawn by Francis Joseph, an Indian, and now in possession of the Maine Historical Society, a copy of which is given herewith (Map No. 4). The portage probably started from the stream Wapsednegan (so given in Colby's Atlas of Washington Co., Maine). The Indian map shows also a portage to Round Lake, whence a stream leads to the present Penamagan, on which is now the town of Pembroke. It

is no doubt the Meddybemps Lake and Stream, known through its use as a portage route, which is shown on D'Anville's fine map of 1755; and with the portage made a stream, as is not uncommon on early maps, it is shown also on the Green-Jefferys map of the same year.

From the Scoodic Lakes there was a portage to the head of the Machias River. The route is mentioned by Allan, who traversed it with much difficulty in 1777, is on his map of 1786, is shown fully on Kidder's map in his "Revolutionary Operations," and it is clearly shown on a map in Coiby's Atlas of Washington County. It ran from near the eastern end of the lower Scoodic Lake to Pokomoonshine Lake at the head of the Machias.



MAP NO. 4. THE ST. CROIX-COBSCOOK-MACHIAS PORTAGES.

From a map by an Indian in the Library of the Maine Historical Society; $\times \frac{1}{4}$.

From Cobscook Bay to the Machias there was a route through the Lakes in the township of Whiting. It is very clearly shown on the Francis Joseph map of 1798 herewith given (Map No. 4).

3. Passamaquoddy-Penobscot.

- A. Grand Lake-Baskahegan.** This was a part of the greatly-used route from the St. John to the Penobscot via Eel River (2 E). Its course, as given me by two residents, is shown on the accompanying map No. 5, and it is described by one of them,¹ who knows it thoroughly, as follows: It left Grand Lake at Davenport's cove and ran south west over a considerable hill two and a half miles to Cleaves Landing on the Baskahegan, a mile below the present railway bridge and village. The Baskahegan is easy of navigation in

¹ Mr. D. Gilpatrick, of Danforth, Me.

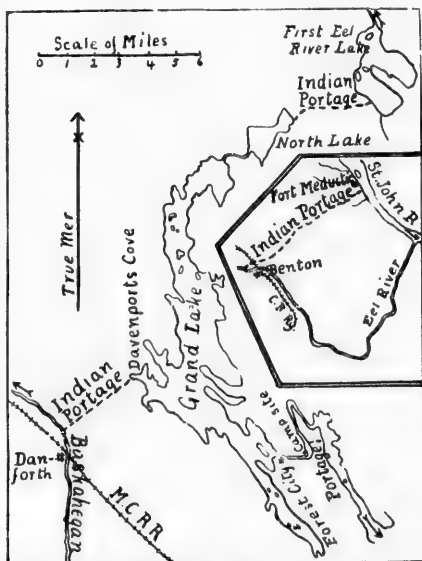
summer for a canoe. The route is also marked correctly on the map in Kidder's "Revolutionary Operations," and also on an Indian map of 1798.¹ This route was accurately known at least as early as 1764, for it is mentioned in instructions given that year by Governor Bernard of Massachusetts, to Surveyor John Mitchel.

It was by this route many of the early settlers of Houlton came from Maine, as related in the Histories of Houlton.

On Wilkinson's map a portage is marked from Baskahegan Lake directly to Pleasant Lake of the Scoodic chain. It is also on Allan's map of 1786.

B.—Scoodic-Passadumkeag. The portage is clearly shown on Wilkinson's

map of 1859. It appeared on Allan's map of 1786, on Bouchette's of 1815, and others. I have no reference to its use, but no doubt such may be found in works on Maine. In Featherstonhaugh and Mudge's Report (p. 21) this portage is said to form part of the old Indian route from Quebec to Passamaquoddy, passing up the Chaudiere and the Penobscot and down this river to the Passamaquoddy, and they state this route was known to Temple in 1668 (p. 22).



MAP No. 5. PORTAGES FROM THE ST. JOHN TO THE PENOBSCOT VIA THE BASKAHEGAN.

4. *St. John-Penobscot.*

A. Eel River - Chiputneticook-Baskahegan.

This route, by far the most important between the two river systems, has already been described above under 2 E and 3 A.

B.—Aroostook—East Branch. This route ran through the Milnoke lakes to the East Branch of Penobscot. It is marked on Hubbard. The Aroostook is very easy of navigation.

C.—Allagash—Chesuncook. A much travelled and often described route; marked on Wilkinson, and marked and described by Hubbard. It formed also a part of a route from the St. John to the Kennebec. There are other routes between the Allagash and Penobscot, all of which are so fully treated by Hubbard, and so much out of the geographical limits of the present paper that no further reference is needed to them here. A modern route of an unusual kind is a canal between Telos Lake on the Allagash and Webster Pond on the Penobscot.

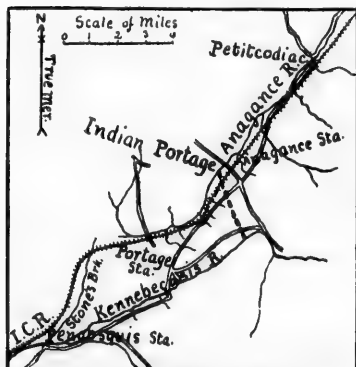
¹ In *Magazine of American History*, XXV., 264.

D.—Baker Lake—North-East Branch Penobscot. Marked on Hubbard and Wilkinson. Between Moonsungan on Aroostook and Spider Lake on Allagash was an important route, marked on Wilkinson and Hubbard. This was no doubt the main route from the St. John to the West Branch of Penobscot, and thence to the Kennebec.

Between the Little Machias and Upper Eagle Lake of the Eagle Lake chain was a portage, given by Wilkinson. The various portages between the Eagle Lakes and the St. John are all on Wilkinson's map.

5. *St. John-Petitcodiac.*

A.—Along the Sea-Coast. No doubt this route was often used, though I find no reference to it. The mouths of the streams offer good landing places for canoes, but most of the coast is very bold, and most dangerous in storms. For this reason it is likely that the Anagance route, next to be mentioned, was often used as a through route.



MAP No. 6. THE KENNEBECASIS-PETITCODIAC PORTAGE.

portage, and the Anagance (from the Maliseet *Oo-ne-gunee*, a portage) is nearly a dead-water stream to the Petitcodiac, which is easily navigable to its mouth. The exact route of the portage, as given me by a resident,² is shown on map No. 6. It leaves the Anagance River one-half a mile west of Anagance Station, and runs directly southwest to the Kennebecasis, distance two miles. This portage was made the starting point for a county line in 1787. It is mentioned in a report by D. Campbell in 1803, who calls it an Indian portage long established, and says that it was formerly the route of communication between Fort Beauséjour and the Acadian settlements on the River St. John.

C.—Washademoak-Petitcodiac. This was a route much used in travel from the Beauséjour (or Cumberland) region to Quebec. The Washademoak, or Canaan, River is fairly easy of navigation to the portage. Since the North

To avoid Cape Enrage, there was a portage from Salisbury Bay into Germantown Lake, and thence down the Shepody River. The course of the portage, as given me by a resident,¹ was from Waterside north by the route followed by the highway and present railroad to the lake.

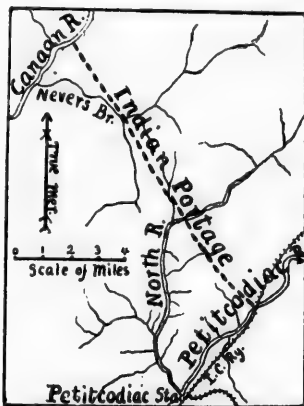
B.—Kennebecasis-Anagance. This was an easy and much-used route, and a part of the regular route to Nova Scotia. Morris, on his map of 1784, says of it: "By Portage from this River to the R. Petitcodiac the Indians of New Brunswick have communication with the Indians of the Peninsula of Nova Scotia." The Kennebecasis has a very gentle current to the

¹ Mr. J. G. Barbor, of Cape Enrage.

² Mr. G. H. Davidson, of Anagance.

River, the continuation of the Petitedodiac, is not navigable, the portage path crossed from the Washademoak, about two miles above Nevers Brook, to the main Petitedodiac, which it reached about five miles below Petitedodiac Station. It was hence about twelve miles long, one of the longest of the important portages in the Province. Its route, as given by a resident,¹ is shown on the accompanying Map No. 7. I presume its course is only approximate; indeed, I have been told by an Indian chief that it started off near Salisbury—considerably farther down the river.

Upon Bellin's maps of 1755 and 1757 this portage is shown, though erroneously marked as ending at the River Chiaministi (Salmon River), and it is called "Portage a beau Soleil." The reason for this name is given by Captain Pote in his most valuable Journal. He crossed this portage in 1745, on the way from Beaubassin to Quebec, and says of it: "This Day went up a River about 6 Leagues To a Carrying place . . . and Stopped at a mans house, Named bon Soliel, this man Treated me, with much Civility . . . and acquainted me that his house, was ye Last french house I Should meet with, Till I arrived to ye River of Saint Johns." In his "bon Soliel" we recognize a corruption of Beausoleil, a well-known Acadian name. Pote states that the portage was eight leagues long. Curiously, he calls the Washademoak the Petcochack. He describes fully his route to the St. John. This portage is also referred to in a document of 1756 given by Rameau de Saint Pere:² "Remonté ladite rivière [i. e., the



MAP NO. 7. THE PETITCODIAC-WASHADEMOAK PORTAGE.

Petitedodiac] environ deux lieues, fait ensuite le portage nommé Ouagismock, aussi de six lieues, jusqu'à une autre rivière qui doit être celle de Chiamaristi." Ouagismock is no doubt Washademoak. This portage is also marked on Montresor's map of 1768, and is correctly made to empty into the Jedemweight (Washademoak). The lake there shown one league from the Petitedodiac is no doubt the crossing of the North River. It is also marked on Morris of 1749, Mitchell of 1755, Bonnor of 1820, Baillie and Kendall of 1832.

The ending of the portage on Bellin at Salmon River instead of at the Washademoak is perhaps to be explained by the presence of a former portage from the Washademoak to Cumberland Bay, on Grand Lake. In this case but a small distance would have been travelled on the Washademoak River before leaving it for the path to Grand Lake. The route of this portage, as given me by a resident⁴ is from three miles northeast of Coles Island straight through to Cumberland Creek, four miles from the bay.

¹ Mr. J. Lounsbury, of Lewis Mountain.

² Journal of Captain William Pote, Jr., p. 52.

³ Une Colonie féodale, II., 373. This interesting document is given in full in one of Parkman's *Ms. volumes on Acadia* in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁴ Mr. John Moser, of Canaan Forks.

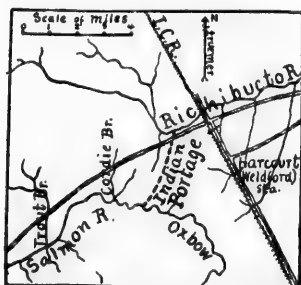
In connection with the presence of a former portage route here is the interesting fact that the name given on the fine DeMeulles-Franquelin map of 1686 to the river emptying into Cumberland Bay, Grand Lake, is *Pichkokouet*, which suggests *Pet-koot-kwee-ak*, the Indian name of Petitcodiac. The name *Cumberland Bay* itself is curious, and may mean that both the Indian and English names were suggested by the use of these waters as a part of a portage route to Petitcodiac and Cumberland Bay at the head of the Bay of Fundy. It was through this region the New Englanders went to attack Fort Cumberland in 1776, and perhaps a portage path then cut is the "road made from St. John's River to Chepody, by the rebel army from New England" and referred to by Murdoch.¹

A portage from the head of the Washademoak to the Cocagne is mentioned below.

A portage of three leagues from Memramcook to Westcock is mentioned in the Parkman MS. (New France, I., 243). As shown on early maps it followed the present Frosty Hollow Brook. It is known locally as an Indian portage, and is said by the Indians to have been used by them.

6. St. John-Richibucto.

A.—Salmon River-Richibucto. This was a very important and much travelled route. The navigation of Salmon River is extremely easy, and it flows



MAP NO. 8. THE RICHIBUCTO-SALMON RIVER PORTAGE.

nearly throughout its course with a very gentle current; the portage, less than three miles long, is over level ground; and the Richibucto is mostly easy travelling for canoes. The portage, as given me by a resident,² is shown on the accompanying map No. 8. It is marked on Baillie and Kendall's map of 1832. The Jesuit Relation of 1659 has "Regibouctou est une belle riviere considerable pour le commerce qu'elle a avec les sauvages de la riviere S. John." Denys, 1672, clearly refers to the portage, and it was made the boundary of D'Amours Seigniory in 1684. It is also shown by a continuous line on the Franquelin-DeMeulles map of 1686.

B.—Washademoak-Buctouche. I have been told by an Indian chief that there is a portage here 2 or 3 miles long over which he has been, but it seems to be unknown to the white residents.

7. Petitcodiac-Richibucto.

A.—Missequash-Baie Verte. This was a route of great importance, much used by both Indians and French, and often referred to in early documents. Thus Franquet describes it fully in his Report of 1752. He shows that the common route was from Baie Verte to Portage Hill by a path, thence to Pont à Buot by canoes, thence to Fort Beauséjour by road. The Missequash is

¹ Nova Scotia, II., 576.

² Mr. S. M. Dunn of Harcourt.

tidal to above Point de Bute, to which point it meanders as a fresh-water stream through lakes and bogs from its source above the present Portage Bridge. Alexander Monro, who knew this region thoroughly as surveyor, and somewhat as antiquarian, says: "Within the present century the Missiguash River and chain of lakes at its head were navigable for boats from Cumberland Basin. Within the last fifty years Indian canoes in large numbers followed this route to within three miles of the navigable waters of Baie Verte. This route has ceased to be navigable for canoes." That the route has ceased to be navigable is the general opinion, but after seeing the river at several points, I am of opinion that an Indian could still take a canoe over the entire course by cutting away bushes in places, as he has to do on other portage streams, and that it is not more difficult of navigation than many streams which they still traverse. At Portage Bridge the river ceases to be navigable; and at the bridge, all testimony agrees, the portage path to Baie Verte started, going over the hill still called Portage Hill. After the road to Baie Verte was built by the French, it was, of course, used as the portage path, and its location is discussed later. (See also Map No. 24). As to the precise course of the ancient Indian trail, however, I have not been able to gather satisfactory evidence. On this point tradition is altogether untrustworthy, since the path must have been disused for nearly a hundred and fifty years, and can so easily be confounded with the old French road. On the one hand, from a study of the topography of the region we would expect it to follow the valley of the Missiguash to its very head, and thence to cross the low ridge to the head of the Verte River. This would enable the Indians to use both streams to some extent at high water, and would make the shortest and apparently easiest path. This is confirmed by the very detailed map of this entire route by Franquet of 1752 (Map No. 26), in which we are led by its author's accuracy in other respects to place much confidence. The stream heading very closely with Portage Hill can only be the Verte River, while the numerous bridges which cross it can only be supposed to be those on the portage path used when the water was too low for navigation, as it usually is in this stream. Franquet speaks of crossing eight bridges on the route. On the other hand, Mr. Monro states in another article² that the Indian path via Portage Hill is now known as Baie Verte Road. Speaking of this portage, Mr. Shewen says in his "Notes of Fort Monckton," "Traces of that portage were seen near the head of the river, many years ago, by Mr. Munro, the veteran Crown Land Surveyor and Civil Engineer, who describes it as being about ten feet wide, and hollowed to trough shape by wear." It is quite possible that a direct path was made from Portage Hill some three to four miles along the highland, which afterwards was followed by the French road, and later by the present highway. But such a supposition does not accord with Franquet's map. De Meulles, in 1685, speaks of this portage as a league in length (Rameau, I., 173), and suggests a canal across it, the first suggestion of a subject which has been much discussed in this century.

It is possible that this is the route referred to by Champlain as that by which the natives pass into the Bay of Fundy, in which case the Verte River would be his Souricoua (see below, B.), but it is much more probable that the latter was some river near Pictou.

¹ Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, No. V., 23.

² Newspaper articles in the "Chignecto Post," in 1883.

It is stated by Monro in his article last-mentioned, that the route finally selected for a ship canal across the isthmus is in the vicinity of an old Indian trail; there would thus have been a portage route from near Hackmatack Lake, on the Missiguash, through to Tidnish, near its north branch.

It is said by the Indians there was formerly a route from their camp ground near Midgie through to the Aboushagan, which perhaps indicates an old portage route from the head of the Tantramar, (a stream flowing through bogs much as the Missiguash does,) through to the Aboushagan river; but I have no further information about it.

B.—Memramcook-Scadouc. It is said by the Indians there was a portage of three or four miles in length between these rivers. A stream at the head of the former river is on some maps called *Indian Stream*, which shows, no doubt, where the route left the Memramcook. A route for a canal was surveyed through here in 1842. Ordinarily the Memramcook is navigable for canoes to Culhoun's Mills and the Scadouc to Smith's Mills, leaving an interval of some eight miles, which would be greatly reduced in times of high water.

It has been supposed by Laverdière and by Slatter, in their editions of Champlain, that the river Scadouc, or else the Shediac, was that called *Souricoua* by Champlain in his 1603 narrative, and said by him to form a route to the Bay of Fundy. This, however, is extremely unlikely, for Champlain on his map of 1632 marks a "*Riviere par où l'on va à la Baye Française*," which is doubtless his *Souricoua*, and makes it head with Minas Basin, from which we must infer that it was one of the rivers near Pictou. Moreover, Champlain himself, in speaking of the *Souricoua*, states that at the entrance is found an island about a league out to sea, which by no means fits the Scadouc, but does fit perfectly the rivers at Pictou. Further, he states that they go up that river two or three days and then cross two or three leagues of land, which account fits far better a river at Pictou than the very small Scadouc. I have not been able to settle the point by the testimony of the Micmac names of the rivers near Pictou.

C.—Petitcodiac-Shediac. The only reference to this portage known to me is in a document of 1756 given by Rameau de St. Père,¹ which reads: "*De Chedaique à la rivière Pécoudiak, c'est un portage de six lieues et beau chemin.*" It is marked on Montresor's map of 1768, and stated to be six leagues in length.

Between the different rivers of the Richibucto System (i. e., from Escuminac to Tormentine) there was a very easy route along the sea-coast. The low sandy shores everywhere make landing from canoes easy and safe, while an occasional portage over narrow necks of sand allows long stretches to be made through lagoons and inside sandy islands. It was along this route that Gamaliel Smethurst travelled in 1761 from Bathurst to Bay Verte, and his "*Narrative*" gives a vivid picture of some of the difficulties of such travel.

D.—Shemogue-Bay Verte. A portage from the head of tide on Shemogue to Bay Verte is mentioned as part of a regular route in the Parkman MS. (New France, I., 265).

Smethurst in 1767 was taken across country from near Shemogue to Bay Verte. A six-mile portage would pass over a level country, and cut off a long distance around Cape Tormentine.

¹ Une Colonie féodale, II., 373.

8. *St. John-Miramichi.***A.—Gaspereau-Cains River.** This was a route of considerable importance.

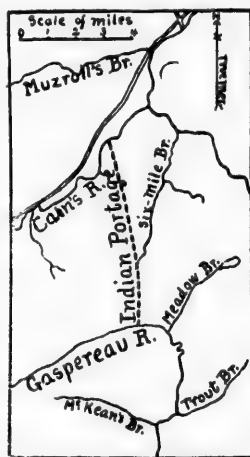
Its exact course as given me by a resident¹ is shown on the accompanying map No. 9. Both Gaspereau and Cains River, like others in the Carboniferous area of New Brunswick, are easy of navigation because of their slight fall and smoothness of current. The portage, six miles long, passes over a nearly level country. The route is mentioned by Benjamin Marston (who travelled over it) in his valuable MS. Diary of 1785²; is marked imperfectly on Purdy's map of 1815, Bouchette of 1815, Bonnor of 1820, Baillie and Kendall of 1832, and elsewhere. This is no doubt the portage between Salmon River and Miramichi mentioned in the "Notitia of New Brunswick," page 110.

Possibly there was some route from Cains River or Black Brook to Barnabys River, for the name of a branch of the latter, Semiwagon, is in Micmac *Say-moo-wak-un-uk*, strongly suggestive of *o-wok-un*, "a portage." This is strongly confirmed by the Franquelin-DeMeulles map of 1686, the original of which in Paris³ shows a continuous line between what is apparently the Little Semiwagon and Black Brook. An apparent portage route on this map in the angle between the Renous, Main South-west and Little South-west Miramichi, I am unable to locate.

B.—Nashwaak-South-west Miramichi. This

was a long but very important portage running from near Cross Creek to above Boiestown. As mapped and described for me by a resident,⁴ it started about a mile north of Nashwaak Bridge Post office, followed Cross Creek to about Budagan Brook, thence followed the course of the present railroad to beyond the Clearwater, whence it followed the course of the present highway road to within two miles of Boiestown, whence it turned directly to the river, reaching it at Portage Bank, two miles above Boiestown. This is no doubt the course of the main Portage road, which in the main must have followed the Indian trail; though probably in high water the Indian route went up Cross Creek as far as Budagan Brook, and thence possibly into the Taxis. The name Budagan (on the Geological, not on Loggie's map) suggests a connection with the Micmac *ok-un*, part of *o-wok-un*, a portage, which is strengthened by its occurrence on another portage route, the Napudogan (8 C).

This route is shown imperfectly on Purdy's map of 1814, on Bouchette, 1815, Bonnor, 1820, and on Baillie & Kendall of 1832, who give its length as



MAP NO. 9. THE GASPHEREAU-CAINS RIVER PORTAGE.

¹ Mr. Isaac Burpee, of Gaspereau.

² In possession of Rev. W. O. Raymond.
See earlier, page 239.

⁴ Mr. John Hayes, of Hayesville.

twenty miles. As this was the natural route from Fredericton to the settlements on the Miramichi, a road was built between the two rivers soon after the Province was founded, and an attempt was made to settle disbanded soldiers along it, with but indifferent success. The Nashwaak is easily navigable to the portage, as is the Miramichi.

- C.—Napudogan-Miramichi Lake.** A portage of three miles connected these waters. It is no doubt the route referred to by Morris on his map of 1784 as "only three miles portage between the head of this river and the south-western branch of the River Miramichi." Munro in his report of 1783 also refers to it, though obscurely. It is marked on Baillie and Kendall, 1832, and is mentioned in Baillie's "New Brunswick." On Bouchette, 1831, this and the preceding are confounded. It is referred to also in Vivian's "Wanderings in Western Land" (page 67).

Munro refers obscurely to a portage between the Nashwaak and the Keswick, but I know nothing of such a portage. There may, however, have been a portage from the Beaguimec to the Nacawiac, for where the waters approach very near to one another, the branch of the former is called Indian Brook and Lake.

- D.—Shikatehawk-Miramichi.** This route involved a long portage, some fifteen miles. Its course as given me by a resident¹ is as follows: From the St. John River it followed the valley of the Little Shikatehawk, an unnavigable stream, to about the present Gordonville, whence it followed about the course of the present highway road, which crosses it several times, through Glassville, Highland and Argyle to Foreston, 15 miles from the mouth of the Little Shikatehawk. From Foreston the South Branch of the Miramichi is navigable to the main river, about fifteen miles. This was, and is, the shortest and easiest route between the two rivers.² This is marked as an "Indian Portage" on Purdy, 1814, and it is also on Bouchette of 1815, and on Baillie & Kendall of 1832; and it is mentioned by Cooney.

The same resident tells me there is an old portage road from the Odell to the Falls on the North Branch Miramichi, 17 miles above the Forks, and that from the head of the Deadwater on the Miramichi to the Wapskehegan are numerous portage roads used by lumbermen. I have no information as to whether there was an ancient Indian route through here, but it is extremely probable there was a route used by hunting parties.

- E.—Long Lake (Tobique) to Little Southwest Miramichi Lake.** This was a little-used portage of some eight miles, fully described by Hind, in his Geological Report (page 152). Both lakes are very difficult to reach, however, on account of the very numerous falls and rapids on the streams leading from them, and hence this was probably never a through route, but only a hunter's route; indeed it is called by the Indians, "The Hunter's portage." It must have been well-known to DeMeulles, for on the fine DeMeulles-Franquelin map of 1686, the lakes are shown with fair accuracy in about their proper relative positions, far better indeed than upon any other map for over a hundred and fifty years. This portage is referred to obscurely by Munro in his Report of 1783, and it is obscurely marked upon Bouchette's map of 1831.

¹ Mr. John Miller of Glassville.

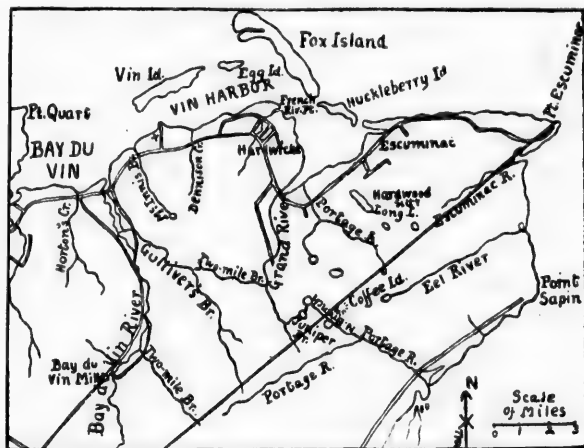
² In tracing this route on a modern map, that of the Geological Survey should be used, as the roads are incorrectly laid down on Loggie's Map.

Long Lake is but one of several at the head of the southern branch of Tobique, all of which are connected with one another by portages shown fully on the map of the Geological Survey, and described by Hind and, in part, by Gordon.

9. Richibucto-Miramichi.

A.—Along the Sea-Coast. This no doubt was much used, especially by those going towards Miscou and Shippegan, who probably used the Eel River—Portage River (9 C) route to avoid Point Escuminac, which is liable to very heavy winds from the North. Those going to Miramichi River would no doubt take the Portage River—Bay du Vin route (9 B).

It is stated by Denys in 1672 (176) that a river on the right as you enter the Richibucto has communication with Miramichi, and also later, in speaking of the Miramichi, he states that a branch goes towards Richibucto. The River on the left must be the Aldouane, but of course it has no such possibility and he must have confused it with the passage through the lagoons to the beginning of the next mentioned route (9 B).



MAP No. 10. THE BAY DU VIN-KOUCHIBOUGUAC PORTAGE.

B.—Bay du Vin-Portage River. According to tradition this was a very important route in early times for both Indians and French. Its course as mapped for me by Mr. D. Lewis of Escuminac is shown upon the accompanying map No. 10, and Mr. Lewis describes it as follows: The route ran up the Bay du Vin River three miles, turned up Gulliver's brook four miles, which brought the traveller to within two or three hundred yards of the Two Mile Brook, emptying into Grand or Eel River, up Grand River two miles to Juniper Brook, up Juniper Brook to the lakes at its head, across those lakes to others on the North Branch of Portage River and down this to Kouchibouguac Bay. The country through which the route passes is a

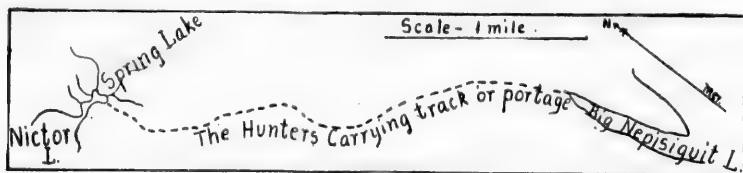
great level peat plain, with many small lakes, and the streams have little fall. Midway of the route is a pine grove, called "Coffee Island," a favourite camping place for travellers. This route has been used by the Indians within the memory of Mr. Lewis, and tradition says it was the regular route of the French from Miramichi to Beauséjour.

The route is clearly shown on the Franquelin-DeMeulles map by the continuous line used on it to show portage routes. It is perhaps this route to which Denys, in 1672, refers as a route from Miramichi to Richibucto, though in speaking of Richibucto, he clearly states that it ran from a branch of that river, which seems an impossibility.

C.—Eel River-Portage River. Another Portage River empties into Miramichi waters east of Grand or Eel River, and heads in lakes near others on Eel River, emptying into Northumberland Strait; (Map No. 10) this probably formed a minor portage route, especially for those going directly North or South along the coast and keeping inside the islands, enabling them to avoid the winds of Cape Escuminac. Possibly a route ran between the two Portage Rivers.

10. St. John-Nepisquit.

A.—Nictor Lake-Nepisquit Lake. This was one of the most important routes across the Province, though not an easy one to travel. The Tobique from its head a very swift river though but little broken by rapids and all by falls. The Nepisquit however, as its Indian name *Win-peg-ij-a-wik*



MAP NO. 11. THE TOBIQUE-NEPISQUIT PORTAGE.

From Berton's Plan of 1837; $\times \frac{1}{2}$.

signifies, is a "hard river," falling a thousand feet in seventy miles, and much broken by falls and rapids. Hence as a through route this was probably less used than the much easier Restigouche. The Portage between the lakes is an easily travelled path somewhat over two and a half miles long; it is still used and no doubt is very old. Its course is shown on the accompanying map No. 11, and it is marked on the Geological Survey and other maps. This portage is marked on the Franquelin-DeMeulles map of 1686 by the word *Oniguen*, the Maliseet word for Portage (*Oo-ne-gun*), and the Lakes are given correctly, more so than upon any map for the next hundred and fifty years. It was probably by this route that Father Bernardin was travelling from Nepisquit to the St. John when he perished of hunger and fatigue in 1621.¹

On the Nepisquit the old portages around Indian Falls, the Narrows and Grand Falls are all on the north or left bank.

¹ LeClercq, *Nouvelle Relation*, 211.

11. *Miramichi-Nepisiguit.*

A.—Along the Sea-coast. In common with the rest of the North Shore, canoe travelling was easy along this coast; by carrying across occasional narrow sand-necks, nearly the whole voyage from Miramichi to Bay Chaleur could be made inside of islands and through lagoons. The route is fully described by Smethurst, who in 1761 went over the route, going southward. He says of it: "We coasted this afternoon thirty miles upon these inland salt lakes. This country is so full of the finest possible conveniences for canoes, that it must blow a perfect storm to disturb them" (p. 14). Smethurst mentions a portage six miles south of Shippegan, evidently that from Pokenouche to Tracadie Lagoon, and also another, evidently that from Tracadie to Tabusintac. The latter was by what is still called Portage River. It is mentioned also by Plessis in 1812 (*Journal*, 169). There appear to have been other portages from Tabusintac to Miramichi, for on the former river on a large plan a "portage brook" is marked just below Stymest's Millstream. There was also probably a portage from the upper Pokenouche to the Gaspereau creek, for an old plan names the small creek (a mile east of Mattampeck on the south) forming the eastern boundary of the Indian Reserve *Waginichitch*, i.e. *O-wok-un-chich*, "little portage." It is mentioned in Perley's report of 1841.

It is stated in Slafter's Champlain that there was a portage from Tracadie to Bass River, but probably this is an error.

Early plans of Shippegan Island name the large cove south-west of the present Pandora Point, *Portage Cove* or *Portage Bay*, but this probably has reference to an early "Portage road," through the interior of the island to Alemek Bay.

B.—Portage River-Gordon Brook. This was a much used route. It leads from Portage River into Gordon Brook, which is called by the Micmacs *O-wok-un*, "a portage." This brook, though rough at its mouth, affords fairly easy canoe travel for some fourteen miles to the portage. A road probably following nearly the course of the portage is shown on Wilkinson's map, and it is known to residents of the Miramichi though now abandoned.¹ The portage is mentioned by Denys in 1672 (183). LeClercq, in 1677, mentions two routes from Nepisiguit to Miramichi, a longer, which was probably this, and a shorter, leading through the woods from near the "*Sault des Loups marins*" (probably Pabineau Falls) directly through the woods, used apparently only in winter and traversed on snowshoes. By this he went himself to Denys' Fort, (probably near Neguac) in winter, suffering great hardships.

Above Bald Mountain, on the Nepisiguit, is a valley called Emerys Gulch, extending south six miles to the North-west Miramichi. A winter portage road now follows it. Probably it was anciently used as a portage route, but I can find no record of it.

In Dashwood's "Chiploquorgan," an account is given of his passage from the Nepisiguit, near the Main South Branch, through to lakes on the Sevogle, but this could not have been a regular route. No doubt the Indians often struck away through the woods regardless of portages, leaving their canoes, as in this case.

¹ A branch of it is said to have run from near the north branch of the Portage River to the Narrows, and over this Sir Edmund Head passed about fifty years ago.

12. *St. John-Restigouche.*

A.—Grand River-Wagan. This was the most travelled of all routes across the Province. The Grand River is easy of navigation up to the Waganis (i. e., Little Wagan), up which canoes could be taken for some two miles. A level portage of two or three miles leads into the Wagan (Micmac *O-wok-un*, "a portage") a muddy, winding brook, which flows into the Restigouche, which to its mouth is a swift but smooth-flowing stream, unbroken by a fall, and almost without rapids. The total fall from the portage is not over 500 feet, and hence it is far easier to ascend than the Nepisiguit, and consequently was the main route across from Bay Chaleur to the St. John. For the upper waters of the St. John a route from the mouth of the Nepisiguit by Bay Chaleur to the Restigouche and thence to the St. John would be both considerably shorter and much easier than by the Nepisiguit-Tobique route.

This portage is marked on Bouchette, 1815, Bonner, 1820, Lockwood, 1826, Wilkinson, 1859, and the Geological Survey Map. On Van Velden's original survey map of the Restigouche, 1786, a "Carrying-place across the highlands," about nine miles, is given, doubtless a portage directly from Wagan to Grand River. This route was taken by Plessis in 1812, (Journal, 267), by Gordon (p. 23), who fully describes it, and by many others. It is said in McGregor's *British America*, 1833 (II., 66), that the courier then travelled up this river with mails for New Brunswick and Canada, evidently by this route. Formerly the alders which blocked the Wagan and Waganis were kept cut out by travellers, and even by workmen paid by the Provincial Government (as I have been told), but since a road has been cut within a few years from the St. John directly through to the Restigouche at the mouth of the Wagan, this route is no longer used, and probably is now practically impassable.

B.—Green River-Kedgwick. This portage is marked, an old and new path, on the maps of the Geological Survey, running from the Pemouit branch of Green River, six miles across to the southwest branch of the Kedgwick. Both rivers are difficult of navigation because of their swift currents and rapids. The route must have been used only by hunters, as it is too difficult and roundabout to be used as a through route. It is referred to obscurely by Munro in 1783.

There is said to be a portage path from the northwest branch of Upsalquitch directly across to the Nictor branch of Tobique, but I have been able to obtain no information about it. It must be long, difficult and very rarely used. The Restigouche can also be reached from the St. John by the Nictor-Nepisiguit route (10 A) and the Nepisiguit-Upsalquitch route, to be described below (13 B), but this would not be used as a direct route.

13. *Nepisiguit-Restigouche.*

A.—Along the Sea-coast. This route is safe for canoes, for landing is everywhere easy, and doubtless it was greatly used.

B.—Nepisiguit-Upsalquitch. Though not a part of a through route, this portage was no doubt much used by hunting parties. Up to Portage Brook the Nepisiguit is very difficult of navigation; Portage Brook is fairly easy up

to the portage, which is about three miles long, and by an easy path leads to Upsalquitch Lake. From the lake to its mouth the Upsalquitch is rapid, and with several falls, and thus difficult of navigation. The portage is marked on the Geological Survey Map.

Wightman, in 1839 (Boundary Blue-book of 1840), passed from Nepisiguit to Upsalquitch, and thence apparently to Jacquet River, showing a portage between those rivers. Returning, he came up Middle River and thence to Upsalquitch, but his exact route is not stated.

On the Peters survey map of 1832 is marked a "Tattagouch Portage Brook: Tattagouch Lake about 15 miles," but applied wrongly to the Upsalquitch Portage Brook, which in turn is confused with Third Forks Brook. Probably the Tattagouch Portage Brook was really Forty-mile Brook, and there was a hunter's portage between it and Tattagouch Lake.

14. *Restigouche-St. Lawrence.*

A.—Metapedia-Matane. There appear to have been two routes between these rivers. Wilkinson's Map has on the Casapscul, "Has a portage to Matane." Bouchette, on his map of 1831, marks a portage from Metapedia Lake to Riviere Blanche, which is perhaps an error for the Matane. Bouchette also refers in his Topographical Dictionary to a portage direct from the lake to the St. Lawrence. This route is mentioned by St. Valier in 1688, and is probably the route referred to by Champlain. Von Velden's Map of 1786 states that after reaching the head of Metapedia Lake "the travellers take the woods, and after ten leagues march, they reach the R. St. Lawrence, near the rocs of Grand Maticee."

B.—Patapedia-Metis. This portage is marked on the Geological Survey Map as of three-quarters of a mile, from Awaganasees (i. e. O-wok-un-chich, Micmac for "little portage") to Upper Metis Lake. Bellin, in his "Remarques sur la Carte" of 1755, says that one can go by the Metis to the St. John. This might be possible by the Mistigouche, Kedgwick Lake, Kedgwick and Green River (12 B), by a fairly direct, but very difficult route, and also easily by the Patapedia, Restigouche and Grand Rivers (12 A).

C.—Kedgwick (Quatawamkedgwick)-Rimouski. This portage is marked on the Geological Survey Map, and is described in Bailey and McInnes' Report of 1888, M, 22. It is over a mile in length, between the lakes at the extreme heads of those rivers.

15. *St. John-St. Lawrence.*

A.—Touladi-Trois Pistoles. This was one of the principal routes from the St. John to Quebec. It led through Lake Temiscouata by the Touladi River to Lac des Aigles, thence to Lac des Islets, thence by a short portage path to the Boibousecache River and down the Trois Pistoles. This route is described in Bailey and McInnes' Geological Report of 1888, M, pages 26, 28, 29, where it is called "one of the main highways.... between the St. John River and the St. Lawrence."

B.—Ashberish-Trois Pistoles. Another route from Temiscouata to Trois Pistoles was by way of the Ashberish River. This portage is marked on Bouchette, 1831, and is mentioned by him in his Topographical Dictionary,

and by Bailey in his "St. John River" (page 48). It was by either this or the last-mentioned route that Captain Pote was taken to Quebec in 1745, as he describes in his Journal, but the description is not clear as to which route was followed. The compass directions and the portages and lakes mentioned by him would rather indicate the Ashberish route, though the editor of the Journal sends him by the Lac des Aigles. This route is shown on the Franquelin-DeMeulles Map of 1686,¹ with the continuous line used on that map for portage routes, and it is probably this route that is marked on Bellin of 1744, and on many following him.

C.—Temiscouata-Riviere du Loup. As early as 1746 a portage path was projected along this route where now runs the highway A document of 1746 (Quebec Ms. IV., 311) reads, "Nous donnons les ordres nécessaires pour faire pratiquer un chemin ou sentier d'environ 3 pieds dans le portage depuis la Rivière du Loup à 40 lieues audessous de Québec jusques au Lac Temisquata d'ou l'on va en canot par la rivière St. Jean jusqu' à Beau-bassin, et ce pour faciliter la communication avec l'Escadre et pour y faire passer quelques détachement de françois et sauvages s'il est nécessaire." Whether or not this path was made we do not know. In 1761 this route was examined by Captain Peach (as a map in the Public Record Office shows), and about 1785, a road was cut along it as a part of the post route from Quebec to Nova Scotia. From that time to the present it has been much travelled, and is often referred to in documents and books.

D.—St. Francis-Riviere du Loup. The exact course of this portage I have not been able to locate, but it probably ran from Lake Pohenegamook to some of the lakes on the LaFourche branch of the Riviere du Loup. The Indian name of the St. Francis, *Peech-un-ee-gan-uk* means the Long Portage (*Peech*, long, *oo-ne-gun*, a portage, *uk*, locative). The first recorded use of this portage is in LeClercq in his "Etablissement de la Foi." He states that about 1624, Recollet missionaries came to Acadia from Aquitaine, and thence went to Quebec in canoes by the River Loup with two Frenchmen and five Indians. It is first shown roughly on a manuscript map of 1688,² very clearly on Bellin, of 1744, and on several others following him, and on Bouchette of 1815. It is mentioned in a document of 1700 (Quebec Ms. V. 348) as four leagues in length. It was by this route St. Valier came from Quebec to Acadia in 1686 or 1687, and a very detailed account of the difficulties of the voyage is given in his narrative. He states that he travelled a short distance on the Riviere du Loup and Riviere des Branches and a long distance on the St. Francis. This route he describes as shorter but harder than that ordinarily used.

On the unpublished DeRozier map of 1690, two portages are shown in this region, one from some branch of what is apparently the St. Francis to the Trois Pistoles, and one from another river to the westward of the St. Francis,

¹ The lake emptying northwest and joined to two lakes flowing into Lake Medaouasca on this map (copy in these Transactions, new series, III., sect. II., 364) is called Trois Pistoles in the original, though the name is omitted on this copy. I have pointed out in the above-mentioned paper the remarkable and cartographically-important error on that map by which the Tobique (Negot) is made to empty into Lake Temiscouata where the Touladi really enters. This error produced a profound distortion of the maps of this region for considerably over a century. It is possible that the error arose by a confusion of the Indian name of the lake on the Touladi (Abagusquash, on Bouchette, 1831) with Nipisigouichich, applied to the Niotor branch of Tobique.

² Cartography of New Brunswick, 360.

perhaps from Lac de l'Est, to the Riviere du Loup, but they are given too inaccurately to admit of identification.

Between the Temiscouata and St. Francis basins are several portages; one from Long Lake at the head of the Cabano to the St. Francis, and another from Long Lake to Baker Lake; and there are other minor ones, all marked on the Geological Survey map.

E.—Black River-Ouelle. On some early maps, such as Bellin, 1744, the Ouelle is made to head with a branch of the St. John, which can be only the Black River. The Morris map of 1749 marks a portage from the St. John to the Ouelle, and has this statement: "Expresses have passed in seven days by these Rivers from Chiegnecto to Quebec." The exact route of this portage I have not been able to determine.

F.—North-West Branch-Riviere du Sud. This portage is first referred to in a letter of 1685 from Dénonville to the Minister:¹ "Je joins a cette carte un petit dessin du chemin le plus court pour se rendre d'icy en huit jours de temps au Port Royal en Acadie, par une riviere que l'on nomme du Sud et qui n'est qu'à huit ou dix lieues au dessous de Quebec. On le ramonte environ dix lieues et par un portage de trois lieues on tombe dans celle de St. Jean qui entre dans la baye du Port Royal." This is probably the Grand Portage referred to by Ward Chipman in one of his letters of the last century.

F.—St. John-Lake Etchemin. Portages between these rivers are mentioned by Bouchette, under "Etchemin" in his Topographical Dictionary. The river received its name from its use by the Etchemins (Maliseets and Penobscots) as a route to Quebec.

II.—THE PERIOD OF EXPLORATION.

1. ROUTES OF CARTIER AND OF CHAMPLAIN.

Of the many explorers of the eastern coast of Canada prior to Cartier, no one is known to have reached the shores of New Brunswick, though there is no doubt that some one of them gave the name Bay of Fundy. This Province, therefore, in this period had but two explorers, both of whom, however, have left ample records of their voyages. One was Cartier, who first made known our North Shore, and the other was Champlain, who did the same for the Bay of Fundy. In fact, it may be claimed that these two are New Brunswick's only early explorers, the only men sent out for the distinct purpose of making discovery and properly recording their results in maps and reports. An exception should, however, be made for DeMeulles, who, in 1685-1686, made a voyage of inspection and exploration to Acadia, which resulted in a Report,² and especially in the fine Franquelin-DeMeulles map, which did for the interior what Cartier and Champlain had done for the coasts.

¹ Quebec Ms. I, 346.

² This Report I have tried in vain to trace. It is not with the original map in the Archives du Depot des Cartes de la Marine in Paris.

There were, of course, many others who explored small areas, particularly the Jesuit and Recollet missionaries and later surveyors, and there are many maps showing explorations of which we have no other record.¹ But usually these later explorations were incidental to some other object, and the records are scanty; and they may best be considered along with the periods to which chronologically they belong.

Cartier's course, in 1534, along our North Shore, has been fully traced in several Memoirs, and is summarized in the preceding Monograph of this series (335-336). It is shown also on the accompanying Map No. 39. This voyage touches our present subject only in connection with the identity of the places mentioned or named by him, and for New Brunswick these were very few.

His *Baye de Sainct Lunaire* was the head of Northumberland Strait. His "triangular bay all ranged with sands" was Miramichi Bay.

His *Cap d'Espérance* (Cape of Hope) was our North Point of Miscou Island.

His *Baye de Chaleur* was the present bay of that name.

The other names contained on maps reflecting his voyage, but not in his narrative, are discussed in the preceding Monograph already referred to.

It is held by DeCosta (*Magazine of American History*, IX., 1883) that it is probable the St. John River was descended in 1569 by David Ingram, an English sailor put ashore two years before in the Gulf of Mexico. Ingram's narrative, as given by DeCosta, is, in part, as follows:

"After long travell the aforesaide David Ingram with his two companions Browne and Twid came to the head of a River called Gugida [Garinda] (*sic*) which is 60 leagues west from Cape Britton wher they understode by the people of that Cuntrie of the arivall of a christian wheruppon they made ther repaire to the sea-side and then found a Frenche Capitaine named Monsr. Champaigne who tooke them into his shipp and brought them unto Newhaven and from thence they weare transported into England, Anno dni 1569. Thro Monsr. Champaigne with diverse of his Companions weare brought into the village of Barimah [Bariniah] (*sic*) about 20 miles up into the Cuntrey by the said examinate [i. e., Ingram] (*sic*) and his 2 companions by whose meanes he had a trade with the people of diverse sorts of fine fures and of great red leaves of trees almost a yarde long and about a foote broad which he thinck are good for dyeing.

Also the said Monsr. Champaigne had ther for exchange of trifeling wares a good quantitie of rude and unwrought [*wrought*] (*sic*) sylver."

DeCosta thinks the Gugida a form of Ouigoudi, and hence the St. John; but here he is in error, for Ouigoudi was not the name of the St. John. His other evidence is scanty and conflicting, so that it is not

¹ As in the fine Survey Map of 1754, given in the preceding Monograph, page 376.

possible at present to decide upon this subject, and it must remain with the probabilities against Ingram having descended the St. John.

Champlain, in his narrative of his voyage to Canada in 1603, mentions in the present New Brunswick, *Tregate*, *Misamichy*, whose identity is plain, and also a river *Souricoua*, which has been supposed to represent either the Shediac or the Scadouc, but which I have already (page 250) given reasons for believing is a river near Pictou. It is possible that the location of the legend of the Gougou (chapter XIII.) is Miscou Island. In his voyage to Acadia in 1604, he entered the Bay of Fundy, and coasted to Minas Basin, then coasted past Cape Chignecto to the New Brunswick coast. The identity of the places described and named by him in New Brunswick has already been in part discussed in the preceding monograph (page 349), and in summary, with a few new points, is as follows:

R. St. Louis, on his maps (no doubt the "petite rivière" of his narrative) was Vaughans Creek, at St. Martins; it probably exists corrupted in *Point St. Tooley*, the eastern headland of Quaco Harbor. That it was Vaughans Creek, and not the other stream at Quaco, is shown partly by the position of the name *R. S. Louis*, on the 1612 map, and partly by the fact that the name *St. Tooley* is attached to the eastern, and not the western headland.¹

Ille perdue, on the maps only, was probably the small island at Quaco Head. The "*cap assez bas, qui avance à la mer*," of his narrative, is no doubt Quaco Head, which is low at its extremity. The mountain, "*un peu dans les terres . . . qui a la forme d'un chapeau de Cardinal*," is no doubt Porcupine Mountain, in the Mount Theobald district, which has, as seen from the hills near Quaco, a symmetrical form, with steep sides and a flattened top, answering very well to the shape given in pictures for a cardinal's hat.²

The "*pointe de rocher qui avance un peu vers l'eau*," four leagues to the southwest, where there were strong and very dangerous tides, was no doubt the present McCoy Head; and it was this point which is called *Cap de Mine* on his maps, for near it they found a cove about half a league in circuit containing a mine of iron. This mine was probably at West Beach, between Cape Spencer and Black River, where iron occurs in the cliffs.³ The beautiful bay containing three islands and a rock was at the mouth of the St. John. Of the islands, the two at a league from the cape making to the west, were of course Mohogany and Thumb Cap, and that at the south of the river was Partridge Island; while the rock was

¹ On the James I. Map of 1610, showing clearly Champlain's voyage, there is one additional name, *C. Ronde*, further up the Bay of Fundy, near Mathews Head, to which, indeed, it was probably applied from a distance.

² Slafter and others name this Mount Theobald, but this is merely the name of a district, and the mountain itself is locally called Porcupine Mountain.

³ As Dr. G. F. Matthew tells me.

probably the Shag Rocks, though his map of the harbour also shows rocks near Red Head.

C. rouge, on his map, but not in the narrative, was probably Red Head, a conspicuous landmark.

His *Riviere St. Jean* still bears that name, translated to St. John. But Champlain was without doubt in error in stating that the river was called by the Indians *Ouygoudi*, for this is their name for a village site, as elsewhere explained¹.

Cap St. Jean, of his map, not mentioned in the narrative, is probably Negro Head.

Isles aux Margos of the narrative were, of course, the Wolves.

Manthane was Grand Manan.

Le riviere des Etchemins was the St. Croix.

L'isle Saincte Croix was the present Dochet Island.

Port aux Coquilles of the map was the present Head Harbor.

Isle gravee of the map was no doubt the present White Head Island.

Illes imuelles, of the map, applied probably to some of the islands near Letite Passage, though possibly to the Wolves.

The meanings and further history of these names may be found discussed under their modern equivalents in my "Place-nomenclature."

The location of the settlement made by DeMonts and Champlain in 1604 will be discussed in the next section.

III.—THE ACADIAN PERIOD.

This clearly marked and interesting period of our history began with the settlement of DeMonts and Champlain at St. Croix Island in 1604, and closed with the coming of the New England settlers after 1760. It has been treated fully by Mr. Hannay in his History of Acadia, though not with much attention to it from our present point of view. Striking events in the history of the Forts of La Tour at St. John, of Cumberland and Gaspereau, together with others in Nova Scotia, are sketched by Bouinot in his "Some Old Forts by the Sea," in these Transactions, Vol. I. The many forts built in this period, and the widely scattered settlements, and the interesting and little known seigniorial grants make it rich in historic sites.

1. SETTLEMENTS AND FORTS.

1. *The Passamaquoddy District.*

A.—DeMonts and Champlain on St. Croix Island, 1604-1605. The history of this part of America begins with the settlement by Champlain and DeMonts on St. Croix, now Dochet Island, in the winter of 1604-1605. A very full account of this settlement, illustrated by a map (No. 13) and a

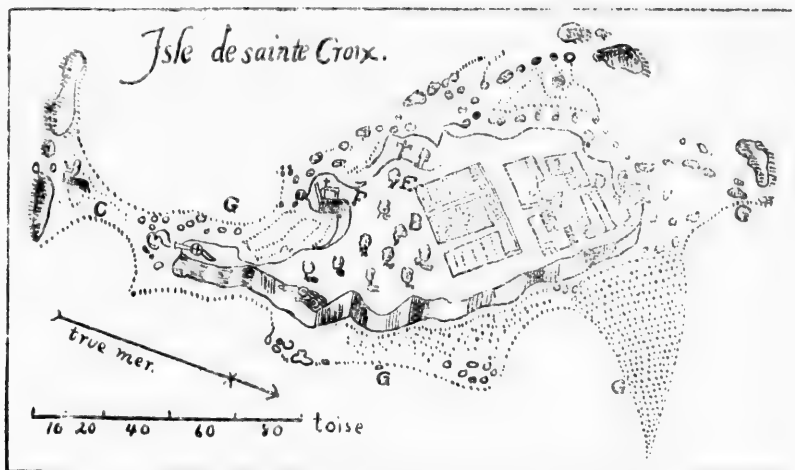
¹ Place-Nomenclature, 269.

bird's-eye view, has been left us by Champlain; and following him, it has often been described by local historians. Politically Dochet Island is now a part of Maine, but historically it belongs to ancient Acadia, whose heir was Nova Scotia and later, in this part, New Brunswick. The situation of St. Croix Island is perfectly well known, and there is not the slightest question as to its identity; Champlain's map alone, if all other evidence failed, would locate it with absolute certainty. Late in the last century remains of the buildings were found in explorations made to settle the identity of the island in connection with the question of the identity of the St. Croix of the boundary disputes, but every trace of these ruins has long since disappeared. But as to the exact site of the settlement on the island, and the changes that have occurred in the island itself since DeMonts' settlement, there is some error prevalent. The place is of such great historic interest that some examination of these questions will be of value.

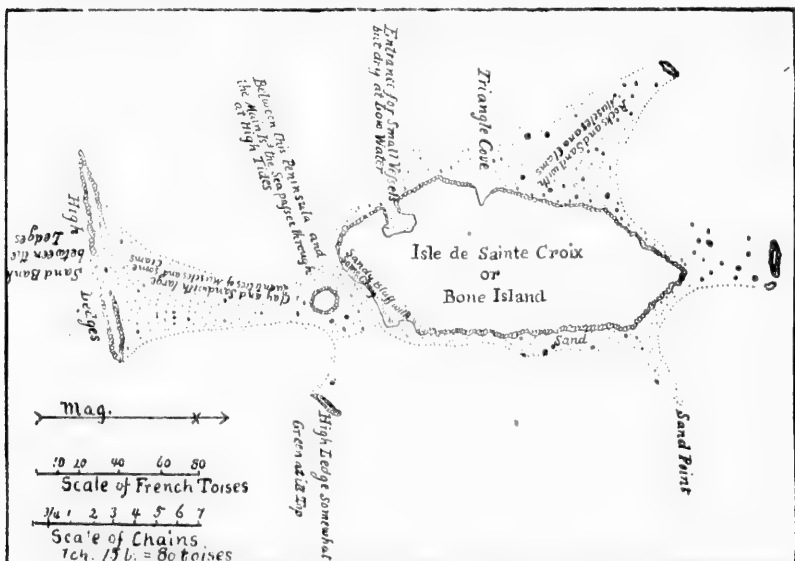
Dochet Island, the *Isle Sainte Croix* of Champlain, lies in the St. Croix river opposite the village of Red Beach, Maine. It is a small island of less than 400 yards long and a little over 100 yards wide, with an area of about six acres, (see Map No. 15). It is highest along the western shore, which is precipitous, rocky, wooded with small trees, and some forty feet high, the highest point on the island, at X on map No. 15, not exceeding 50 feet. It slopes down to sea level towards the west. At the lower end is a high terrace of sand and clay ending in steep bluffs, beyond which are two densely wooded isolated knolls. Near its highest part are the several buildings of a United States Light Station, where lives the light-keeper and his family, the only residents of the island. Most of the island is an open pasture with small bushes here and there, though to the northward of the buildings is a good fenced garden. The central part of the island is now a series of bare rocky ledges, with some soil between, whose limits are shown on the accompanying map No. 15. No doubt in earlier times these ledges were, in part at least, covered with soil and trees.

In addition to Champlain's map of the island (Map No. 13), there is extant one made by Wright in 1797 (Map No. 14). In June, 1898, I made a survey of the island with compass and tape, and prepared the map given herewith (Map No. 15).¹ A comparison of the three of 1604, 1797, 1898, shows the following facts: The island has washed away very little if any at its upper end, but a good deal at the lower end. The knoll on which DeMonts' cannon were mounted, now a densely wooded mound, was then continuous with the sand bluff of the main island; it had become separated in 1797, and now is cut off by a considerable interval of low beach. The cove near the chapel on Champlain (curiously less pronounced on Champlain than on Wright) has, since 1797, deepened until it has cut through the bluff, thus separating another knoll, which now stands out by itself connected with the sand bluff only by a low narrow ridge of sand, hardly higher than the beach. This very considerable removal of sand is said, however, not to be entirely the result of the action of the waves, but partly to the removal of many scow-loads to the mainland for building purposes. The site of the chapel has undoubtedly been washed away, and at least a part of the burial ground. Indeed the land in this part of the island has washed

¹ Though the angles and measurements were carefully taken, the outline is not strictly accurate, for I found subsequently that my compass gave for some directions considerable error, due to the nickel with which it was plated.

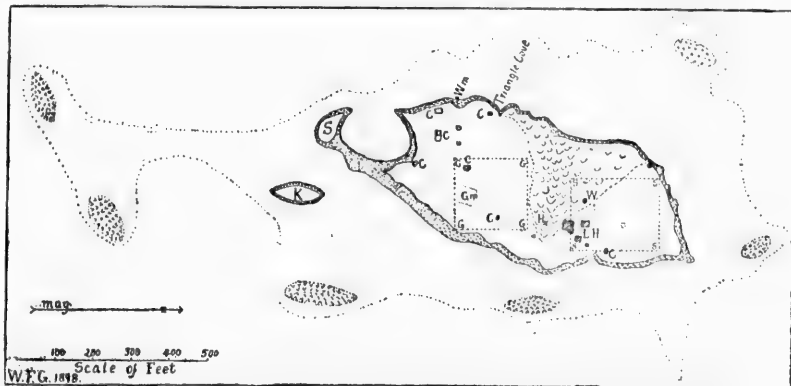
MAP No. 13. ST. CROIX (DOCHET) ISLAND, BY CHAMPLAIN, 1604; $\times \frac{1}{2}$.

- | | |
|---|---|
| A. Le plan de l'habitation. | E. Le cimetière. |
| B. Iurdlinages. | F. La chappelle. |
| C. Petit islet servant de platte forme à mettre le canon. | G. Basses de rochers autour de l'isle sainte Croix. |
| D. Platte forme où on mettoit du canon. | |

MAP No. 14. ST. CROIX (DOCHET) ISLAND; SURVEY BY WRIGHT, 1797; $\times \frac{1}{8}$.

away much within the memory of the present light-keeper, to such an extent that a well formerly of some use is now on the rocky exposed beach. It is possible that it was the exposal of the skeletons of many of the victims of the dreadful winter of 1604-1605 that gave the island its name, Bone Island, by which it was known at the close of the last century.

At the south-west end of the island, and elsewhere as well, are old cellars which are often mistaken for those of the DeMonts' settlement. Old residents, however, state that these are cellars of small houses which stood there within the present century, and their position by no means allows of their belonging to Champlain's buildings. Probably not all of these seeming cellars are so in reality, for some of them may be holes left by money-diggers, for whom this island has naturally been a favourite resort.



MAP No. 15. ST. CROIX (DOCHET) ISLAND, SURVEYED BY THE AUTHOR, 1898.

- | | |
|---|--|
| C. Cellars, mostly modern. | S. Another isolated knoll. |
| GGGG. Approximate position of DeMonts' gardens. | SSSS. Approximate site of DeMonts' settlement. |
| Gm. Modern garden. | W. Supposed old "French" well. |
| H. Highest point of the island. | Wm. Modern well now on the beach. |
| K. Knoll on which DeMonts' cannon were placed. | The irregular dotted line incloses exposed ledges. |
| LH. Lighthouse buildings. | |

A comparison of my map with that of Champlain shows that the settlement must have stood on the north side of the central band of rocks, on the highest part of the island, (where there is a plateau of good soil, sloping slightly to the westward,) but somewhat overlapping the rocky ledges, while the gardens must have been to the southward of the rocks. It was on the north end of the island the ruins were found by Robert Pagan in 1797. No doubt the rocky ledge marked on my map by H, the highest point of the island, was between the settlement and the gardens, which is fully confirmed by the testimony of Robert Pagan in 1797 (Kilby, 125), who found the rock in exactly this position relatively to the ruins. The approximate position of the settlement is shown on Map No. 15 by the dotted lines inclosing the

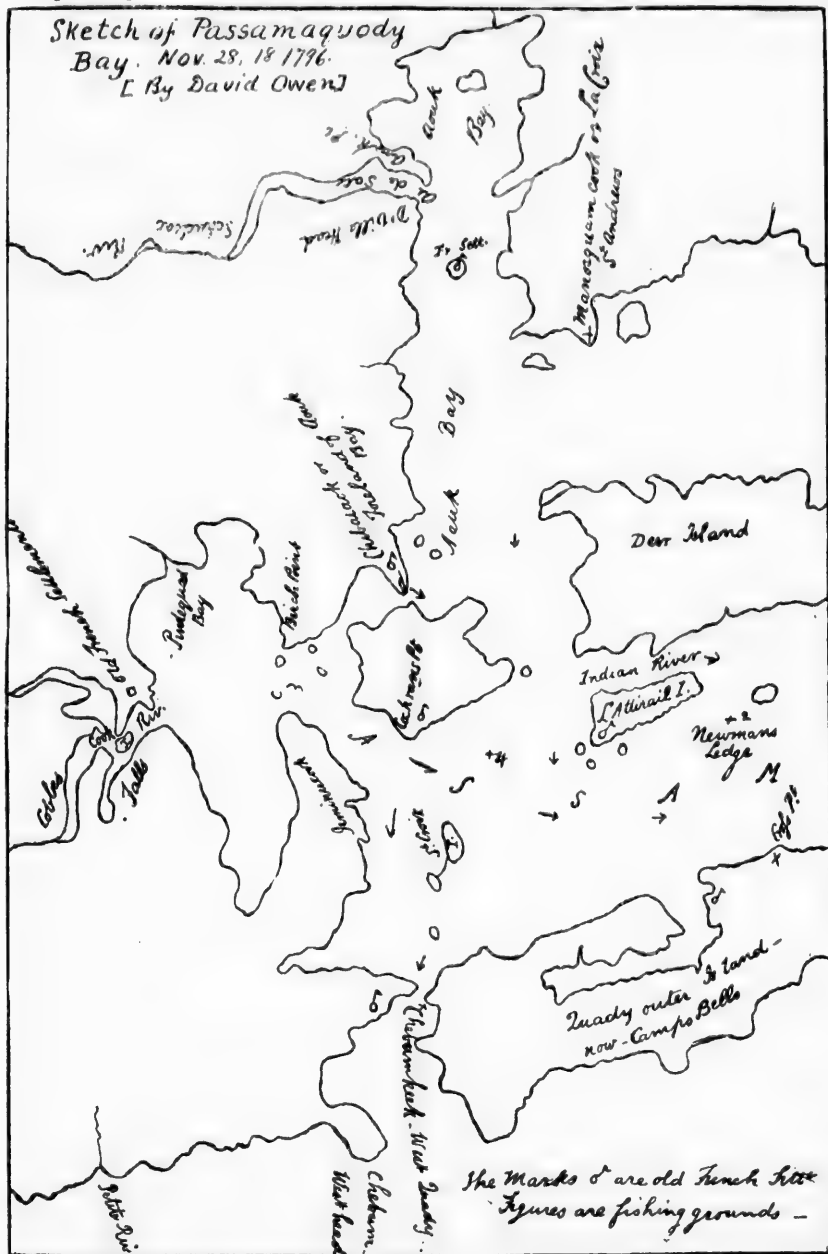
letters SSSS, and of the gardens by the lines inclosing GGGG. The old French well [W] pointed out to visitors is probably not, though possibly it may be, the well shown on the plan of the settlement. It is not far from the correct position, but on the other hand it is extremely shallow, though it may have been deeper when the island was wooded.

B.—The Acadian Settlements. As to the sites of these we have six lines of evidence, the narrative of Church, place-names, tradition, a published map of 1733 by Southack, the Morris Report of 1765, and a Ms. map of 1796 by David Owen (No. 16), which marks French settlements about Passamaquoddy Bay.

There are no records of any settlers in this region until 1684, when a Seigniory was granted at Passamaquoddy to Sieur St. Aubin, and later others were granted, all of which will presently be mentioned. The census of 1686 gave two settlers with their families at St. Croix; that of 1689 gave four men, four women and thirteen children, while another in 1700 gave sixteen persons. When Church made his raid in 1704, the settlers appear to have been more numerous, but after that raid they seem to have disappeared from the region, for they are heard of no more.

In Church's narrative of his expedition to this region in 1704, he tells of coming up the west passage of Passamaquoddy and to an island where he found a French house, and captured one Lotriel and his family. This was plainly enough on Indian Island, which on early plans and in early records is called Latrelle and other forms of what is known to be properly La Treille, and Owen's map places a settlement at the southern end of the island.¹ Later Church proceeded up the bay to a place, apparently the present Pleasant Point, (or possibly St. Andrews) where other houses, or rather, huts, were found, in one of which lived a Monsieur Gourdan, probably the Sieur St. Aubin. Again, at the head of the river near the falls, probably at the cove, St. Stephen, lived one Sharkee, properly Chartier. These are the only French houses of which we have record in documents. Since, however, Jean Meusnier had a grant on the Mâgaguadavic he probably lived there, though we have no hint as to exactly where. Turning next to the Southack map of 1733, reproduced and discussed in the preceding memoir of this series, (p. 367), in which Passamaquoddy River represents the passage between Deer Island and Maine, and St. Croix River represents Letite passage; "French Inhabitants" are placed apparently on the lower end of Deer Island, and on the mainland opposite. The upper of the latter settlements is no doubt the same as that on Chebaiaok (i.e. Pleasant Point), of Owen's map, and the lower that on Moose Id. on Owen's map, but I know nothing of those on Deer Island. Southack also places French houses on Campobello near what is plainly Harbor Delute, as also does Owen on his map. Tradition points to certain cellars on the peninsula between Curry's Cove and Otter Cove as French, and it was probably here the French houses really stood, a view sustained by Owen's map. Church in his expedition sent a party to this island to search for the French. On the peninsula at the entrance to Harbor Delute, westward of Curry's Cove, DesBarres' picture of Campobello, of 1777, shows a sort of arch ruin, which must have belonged to a building of some importance, and possibly here was another French house. Rameau states that St. Aubin's residence at Passamaquoddy was a palisaded dwelling or sort of fort, and possibly this ruin is the remnant of his

¹ This expedition of Church has been fully treated in the *Courier Series*, XXXI-XXXIII.



MAP No. 16. PASSAMAQUODDY, BY DAVID OWEN, 1796; x 8

dwelling. Owen also places French settlements near Lubec and on Moose Island at Eastport, and about Cobscook Bay, but these I have not attempted to locate exactly. Morris, in his MS. report of his survey of Passamaquoddy in 1765, has this statement :—"There is not the least Vestages of the French Settlements in any other part of the Bay, but upon Moose Island, Fish [i. e., Indian] Island, the Island St. Croix, and the Point on the West side Seodick River called point Pleasant, where the French had a Fort, and part of the Ditches and Ramparts still appear." This fort was no doubt that which was being built in 1704 by Gourdan (St. Aubin?) and Sharkee (Chartier), as prisoners taken near Penobscot told Church; but it must have been unfinished, for Church makes no further mention of it. Very probably, as mentioned above, the dwelling of St. Aubin was here. This, of course, would be the French settlement marked at Pleasant Point on the Southack and the Owen maps. The location of all these settlements on a modern map is shown on Map No. 40. Morris' Island St. Croix was not the present Dochet Island, but the present Treat Island near Eastport, as his map and report show (see also Map No. 16). I know of no other reference to a French settlement on this island.

Tradition points to some old cellars at Hill's Point between Oak Bay and the Waweig, as French, and to graves and a well at Letite said to be French, and there is a shadowy tradition of an ancient breastwork on the bluff at Sandy Point, found by the earliest settlers.

We may say, in summary, that in this region there was a large settlement on Dochet Island, and small ones at Indian Island, Campobello, St. Andrews, Pleasant Point, St. Stephen, and perhaps others at other points. But it must be remembered that the censuses show that the French population of this region was always extremely small. The settlers at Passamaquoddy were less farmers than fishermen and traders.

2. The St. John District.

A.—SETTLEMENTS.

The earliest French settlement on the St. John of which we have record was the temporary fishing village at *Emenenic*, mentioned in Biard's letter of 1612, and elsewhere in the Relations of that time. This island was one of those near the head of the Long Reach, which at this day called by the Maliseets *Ah-men-hen-nik*.

The next settlement was that of the Recollet Mission at *Amereq* tells us that the Recollets had their principal establishment on St. John in 1619, but we have no further clue as to the site of this settlement. He tells us also that about 1624 the Recollet missionaries came to Quebec, and that "They had left the mission which they had on St. John's River a month before in consequence of orders they had received from their provincial in France."¹

The next settlement is that of LaTour, about his fort at St. John, a subject to be referred to below. Next after this comes the trading station

¹ In "Premier Etablissement de la Foi."

at Jemseg of 1659, which originated the Jemseg Fort, later to be described. Then comes the settlement of the Sieur de Marsden and his family and retinue at the mouth of the river, mentioned in the Census of 1676. This settlement was undoubtedly at Carleton, and no doubt on the site of Old Fort.

The later censuses show very slow increase, most of the settlers being seigniors and their families, not Acadian habitants. Thus, the census of 1686 gives eight settlers; that of 1693 gives twenty, that of 1695 gives forty-nine, that of 1698 gives forty-one. It was evidently not until well after 1700 that any number of Acadians came to settle on the river. There was no other census until that of 1733, which gives one hundred and eleven settlers, and most of these probably had been there but a short time, for a document of 1732, cited below, implies that a colony had only recently settled on the river. The reason for so small a population in so fertile a region is doubtless to be found in the preference of the Acadians for the rich marsh lands of the head of the Bay of Fundy, which were more abundant than they were able to settle. After the expulsion, however, in 1755, the population received great additions from those who escaped from Beauséjour, and from some of those who found their way back from the southern provinces to which they were transported, so that Monckton in 1758 found them on the river in considerable numbers, and one document of 1759 estimates them at six hundred. (Broadhead, X., 973.) Probably by the Acadians the St. John River was thought undoubted French territory, for the French always claimed that the Acadia ceded to England in 1713 included only the peninsula, the present Nova Scotia, while England maintained that it included all of ancient Acadia on the mainland, a contention which she supported first by logic, and later, and more effectually, by force of arms.

The sites of the residences of the seigniors of the St. John will be discussed later. We shall consider first the sites of the Acadian settlements. For these we have seven lines of evidence, the Morris Maps of 1758 and of 1765, the Report of Monckton's Expedition to the St. John in 1758, a MS. Report of 1762 by Bruce, and one of 1765 by Morris, place names, and tradition.

A.—French Village, Kingsclear. The origin of this village is uncertain, but as there is no early mention of it, it probably was established after Monckton's expedition in 1758. Neither Bruce's Report of 1762, nor Morris' of 1765, make mention of it, though both refer to the settlements at St. Annes. Probably it was founded by Louis Mercure, a French courier in the employ of the English, who settled here with some of his countrymen, and with most of them removed in 1788 to Madawaska. A full list of these settlers, together with others in the vicinity, is given in Collections, N. B. Historical Soc. I., 110. Tradition places its exact original site on the great intervalle a short distance below the present Indian Village, and Munro in 1783 speaks of it as a "French Village on a semicircular point of good intervalle." It is

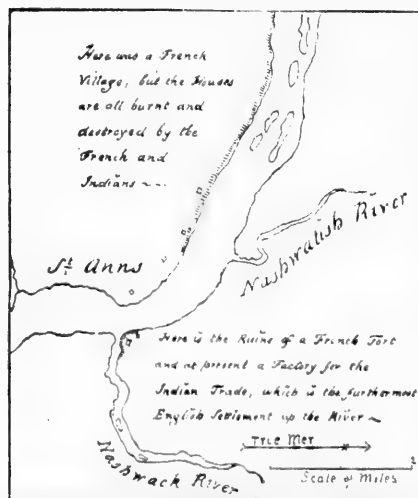
probably to this settlement that Abbé Bailly refers, in a letter of 1768 from Aupac, in speaking of eleven Acadian families living near Aupac who had been confirmed at Sainte Annes (Casgrain). It is said locally that some of these settlers founded the Masrol, or Myshrall, settlement between Kingsclear and Hanwell.

Apparently there were other French settlers between the Keswick and Nashwaaksis, for when those lands were laid out and granted in 1786 several lots were granted to Acadians, and the records of the time speak of a "French location" there.

St. Valier, in 1688, tells us the region about the present Springhill was named *Sainte Marie*, and he thought it a good place for settlers.

B.—St. Annes Point. This is without doubt the "colony below the village of

Ecoupay (Aupac)" of the census of 1733, with 82 inhabitants, and the settlement of 20 families 30 leagues up the river of a document of 1749 (Murdoch, II., 135). In 1756 there was here a French officer with 20 men (Murdoch, II., 304), and there are several other references in documents of the time to this important village of St. Annes. Bruce, 1762, says there were 600 or 700 acres of land cleared here, and Morris, 1765, states that the French had settlements all the way from St. Annes to Aupac. It was perhaps settled just before 1732, for a document of that year (Murdoch, I., 479) speaks of a small colony of French having settled on the River St. John. It stood on the present site of Fredericton, scattered along the river as the Morris map of 1765



MAP NO. 17. ST. ANNES POINT AND SURROUNDINGS. From Morris, 1765; *ibid.*

(Map No. 17) states, from opposite the mouth of the Nashwaak upwards. It is here too that tradition places it, and the remains of an old French road were discovered here by the first settlers.¹ Munro, in 1783, speaks of land here cleared by the French, about two miles in extent. This settlement was destroyed by expeditions from the mouth of the river made in the winter of 1758-59. Yet the Acadians evidently returned to it, for in 1761 some forty of them were there, and a few were there in 1783 (Murdoch II, 402, 403). It was the second most important Acadian

¹ "The only considerable relic of the French at the point is a portion of corduroy road dug up by city workmen on the corner of Regent and George streets. The plan of the town surveyed by Dougald Campbell in 1786 shows this road, which crossed the point in a sweeping curve, passing through the blocks facing on Charlotte, George and Brunswick streets. At the corner of Regent and Charlotte the land was marshy and so the road was corduroyed there." MacFarlane's "Fredericton," (St. John Sun, 1892).

settlement on the river. The exact site of the church is not known, but a later grant implies it was near Government House.

The census of 1695 gives fourteen settlers at Nashwaak, doubtless living near the fort.

- C.—Freneuse.** This settlement, mentioned in the early censuses as having several settlers (36 in 1698), was of course the residence of *Sieur de Freneuse*. It is represented on several early maps as situated on the east bank of the St. John, exactly opposite the mouth of the Oromocto, no doubt at the bend of the river at Upper Maugerville, but no trace is now known of its presence. In 1696 Freneuse had there a house, barns, etc., as a lease of that date shows (mentioned later).

Probably there were also Acadian settlers around the mouth of the Oromocto; Bruce's report of 1762 mentions three hundred acres of cleared land here.

- D.—Jemseg.** It is possible that settlers lived near the fort at Jemseg, which site will be discussed below. It was somewhere in this vicinity that *Sieur de Chauffours* resided, with whom John Gyles lived, as he relates in his narrative. Monckton, who burnt some houses there, states in his report of 1758: "This settlement had been abandon'd some Years past, by most of the Inhabitants On account of its being overflow'd in the Spring by the Freshes." A document of 1756 in the Parkman Ms. [New France, I, 265], speaks of Jemseg, a French village of thirty or forty houses, a little below the mouth of the Jemseg river. Possibly Lower Grimross is here meant.

- E.—Grimross.** This was an important settlement at the time of the expedition of Monckton in 1758. Monckton states that there were here some fifty houses and barns, which he burnt, and the Morris map of that year [published in the preceding Monograph, 390] shows numerous buildings exactly on the site of the modern Gagetown. Of this village, Monckton says: "This Village was settled by the Inhabitants of Beausejour, when drove off from thence in 1755." Some of the Acadians must have returned to Grimross, for in 1761 a few were living there [Murdoch II, 403]. This must have been at one time the principal settlement on the river. Morris, 1765, says: "Grimross is the most considerable settlement that the French had upon St. Johns; but their Houses are now all demolished and their improvements laid waste." Monckton speaks also of houses above the head of Grimross River.

- F.—Chofour.** A few houses just below Gagetown shown on the Morris map of 1758. Connected no doubt with *Sieur de Chauffours*.

- G.—Villeray.** A few houses at the present Lower Gagetown, about opposite the middle of Musquash Island; on the Morris map 1758. Monckton says he burnt houses there.

- H.—Robicheau.** A settlement of four houses on the Morris map of 1758 just above Tennants cove. The possible connection of this with an earlier settlement or fort here I have discussed fully in my *Place-nomenclature* [p. 257]. Monckton speaks of "a few Houses that were some time past inhabited by the Robicheaus," which he burnt.

There was perhaps a small settlement at the mouth of Nerepis about the fort (see later), for Bruce, 1762, tells us there were 12 or 15 acres of clear land here.

- I.—St. John.** At the mouth of the river St. John in the census of 1733 are given eighteen settlers. The site of this settlement is unknown, but it was possibly

in Carleton, where there are traditions of French gardens found by the early settlers, which are probably the same as those shown upon Bruce's map of the harbour of 1761 (see Map No. 37). There is also a tradition of a French burial place at the barracks, St. John.

On the Fort Howe Ridge is an old well, locally called the French well, and mentioned as such in Keleher's Field-book of 1848. He mentions also, and marks on his maps, the remains of an old French block-house on the ridge, but probably this is an error, as there is no other evidence of a settlement here, and the situation is a very improbable one.

J.—French Village, Hammond River. The origin of the village is uncertain. The Sieur de Breuil had here a Seigniorship in 1689, and it is possible that the village was founded by him; but it is much more probable, since it is not given on early maps, that it was one of those formed by the Acadians after the expulsion. This is confirmed by a statement of Munro in 1783, who says of it: "Sir Andrew [Snape Hamond] has a valuable tract of good Interval and upland which includes a French settlement of fifteen families who have been settled there fifteen years previous to his grant." As the grant referred to was made in 1782, the settlement would have been formed in 1767. According to Allison [p. 4] the Acadians took out grants about 1787, but soon after sold out and moved away, probably to Madawaska (But see Archives, 1895, N.B. 13). The site of the settlement is marked on all the later maps.

Passing next to tradition, in this case well sustained by the testimony of place-names, there are said to have been settlers about French Lake, north of Maquapit, particularly on the island and on the eastern shore near the passage, and about French Lake on the Oromocto, and the testimony of the place-name, French Lake, leaves little doubt that this is correct. It is possible that these settlements were later than the other Acadian settlements on the river; and since they are retired places not easily reached by the English vessels, the French may have settled on them after they were driven off the main river by Monekton's expedition of 1758. They are said also to have lived at Swan Creek, and about the outlet of Lilly Lake St. John, where cellars and roads made by them are said to have been recognized by the early settlers.

On Mitchell's map of 1755 a "Village of Acadians" is placed on the present Salmon River emptying into Grand Lake, but this is probably an error, as there is no other record of its existence.

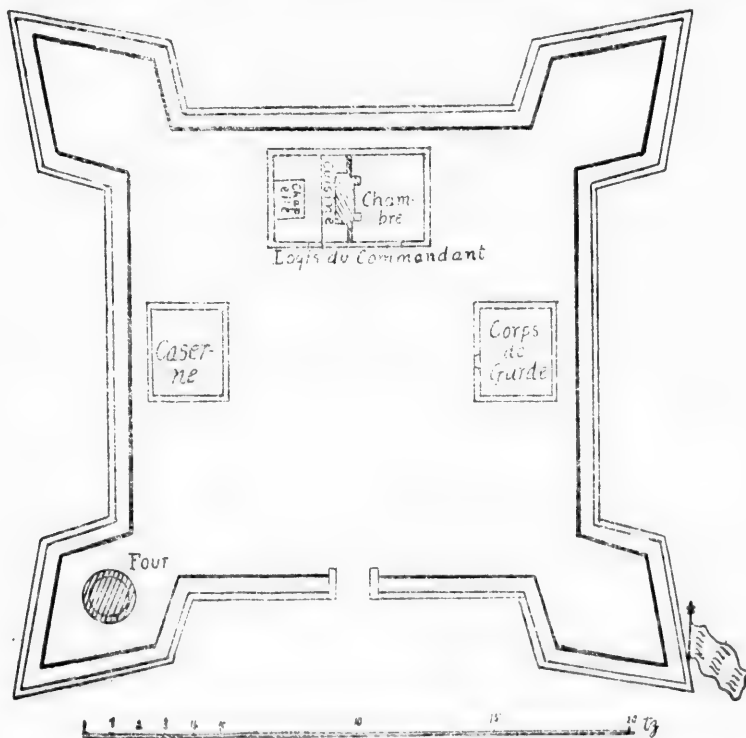
The modern Acadian settlements on the river are entirely at Madawaska. Licenses of occupation, later followed by grants, were given to them shortly after the coming of the Loyalists, and here this much-persecuted people have since lived in peace, unless the transference of half of them to the United States by the Ashburton treaty of 1842, without asking their leave, may be regarded as an exception.

There are traditions that the French also had dikes at Dipper Harbor, Musquash Harbor, and on Quiddy River at Martins Head. The Frenchmans Creek at Musquash does not mark a settlement, but according to Gesner, a place of retreat of a French ship, probably that mentioned in Quebec Ms. II. 152.

B. FORTS.

Fort Meductie was an Indian rather than a French fort, though sometimes spoken of as French. Its site has already been discussed.

A.—Fort Nashwaak (Fort St. Joseph). This fort, prominent in its time, was built by Villebon in 1692, withstood a siege by the English in 1696, and was abandoned in 1700. There is no doubt as to its site; it stood in the upper angle between the Nashwaak and the St. John, close to the water, on high



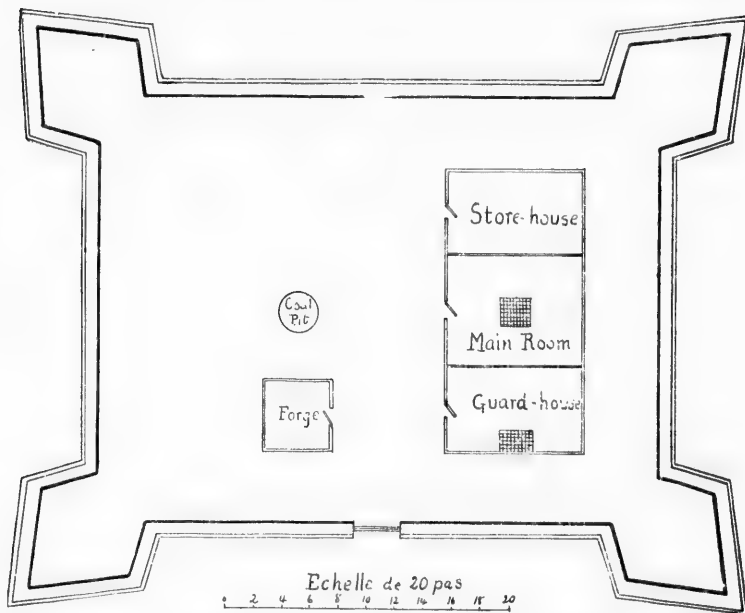
MAP No. 18. PLAN OF FORT NASHWAAK (FORT ST. JOSEPH),
From a plan of 1692 in the Archives de la Marine, Paris; $\times \frac{1}{25}$.

intervale now washed away, so that the site of the fort was over what is now the gravel beach. Its ground plan is shown very clearly on the accompanying outline of a plan from the Paris archives¹ [Map No. 18], and its situation on the Morris 1765 map [Map No. 17]. Cadillac in 1692 speaks of this as a Micmac fort, and it has been claimed that it was built by early

¹ A bird's eye view, not here reproduced, accompanies the ground plan.

Scotch settlers, both of which are probably errors. Mr. Hannay visited the site in 1867, and saw there remains of ramparts, etc., though the next year he speaks of the fort as entirely washed away. [Stewart's Quarterly, I., 99, and II., 141].

B.—Fort Jemseg. This fort was apparently built by Thomas Temple during the English possession of Acadia in 1659. He records having built a trading post fifty miles up the St. John. It was handed over to the French in 1670, at which time a description of it was prepared (published in Memorials of the English and French Commissaries,) from which, and after analogy with plans of other forts of the time, I have compiled the accompanying plan [Map No. 19]. Between 1672 and 1676 it was greatly strengthened by



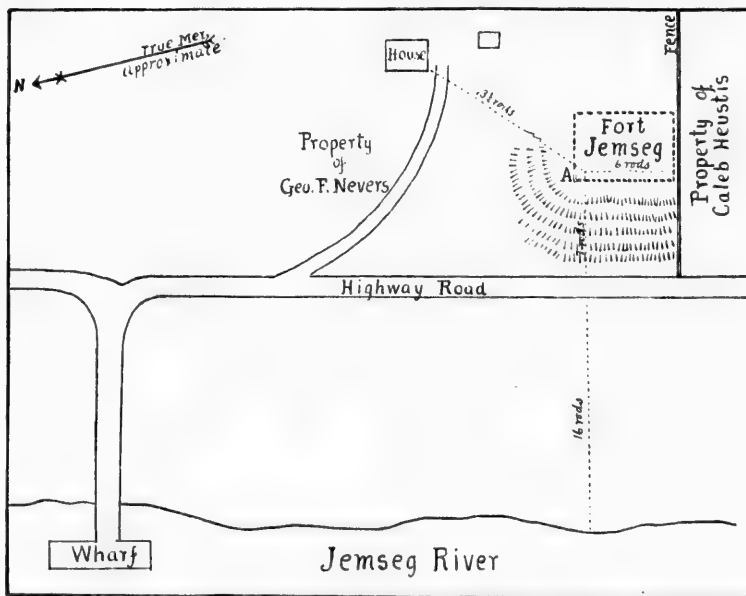
MAP No. 19. APPROXIMATE PLAN OF FORT JEMSEG, COMPILED FROM A DESCRIPTION.

Sieur de Soulanges as related in the grant of the fort to him in that year :

"Il a fait diverses réparations et augmentations à celui de Gemisik, afin de le rendre logeable et de défense, n'y ayant auparavant qu'un petit longement de bois tout ruiné, entouré seulement de quelques palissades à demi-tombées par terre; en sorte que pour réedifier le tout, il lui auroit coûté beaucoup, et se verroit encore contraint d'y faire de grandes dépenses pour le remettre en état, à cause de la ruine entière qu'en fait les Hollandois en le faisant prisonnier dans le dit fort, il y a deux ans." (Memorials, 748.)

Unlike most forts of the time it was not square, which no doubt was because of the shape of the knoll on which it stood. Its situation is known

locally, and is illustrated by the accompanying sketch map [Map No. 20], compiled partly from sketches of my own, partly from notes supplied by Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, and partly from measurements made for us by Mr. D. L. Mitchell, of Gagetown. It stood on a small mound near the top of a hill on property owned by Mr. G. F. Nevers, and old residents remember when its outlines were distinct. The site commands a fine view both up and down the river. On the knoll is still to be seen an angle of earthwork [at A., Map No. 20], but a foot or less in height of which the position and appearance make it seem probable that it is a remnant of the rampart of the fort; but otherwise no trace of it whatever is to be seen, though numerous relics



MAP No. 20. SKETCH OF SITE OF FORT JEMSEG.

A. Corner of fort still visible.

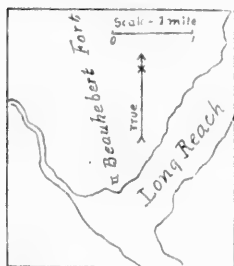
have been dug up here and in the hollow just below. Mr. Paltsits has discovered what seems to be the end of an old drain beside the road.¹

Below Spoon Island on the east bank is the structure known locally as the "Old French Fort." Its origin and age are very obscure. If it really is French it is no doubt connected with the place called *Nid d'Aigle* on the early French maps, a subject discussed in my *Place Nomenclature*, page 257, and referred to earlier in this paper. It was perhaps built in the time of Villebon, as a protection to his fort at Nashwaak, or perhaps later, as

¹ Perley, in his published lecture, 1841, states that the fort stood "at the lower entrance of the Jemseg, near the residence of Charles Harrison, Esq., and on property now owned by him." All evidence at present available sustains the view taken in this paper.

a protection to the Acadian settlements above on the river. The battery is however, not French at all, but was built in 1813. It had no connection with the Telegraph station which stood on this hill late in the last century. [See later]. It stands on a bluff where the river is very narrow, about two miles above Tennants Cove, and certainly the position is a most commanding one. On the level, fifty feet or more above the river, is still a distinct crescent-shaped earthwork some two or three feet high, and fifty feet across its arc. On a level still higher up the hill is a hollow, twenty feet across and five or six deep, locally called the Magazine, while still higher up are the remains of the block house where lived the soldiers in charge of the semaphore telegraph, and some of the timbers of this house can still be seen. (See also *New Brunswick Magazine*, III., 228).

C.—Fort Nerepis. This was no doubt originally an Indian fort, as already discussed, and is mentioned by Villebon in 1697.



MAP NO. 21. SITE OF BEAUHEBERT'S (i. e., BOISHEBERT'S) FORT.

From Morris, 1765; $\times \frac{1}{2}$.

In 1753, however, it was occupied by the French under Boishébert, and thus figures in the events of the time, and it is often called after him, Beau Bear or Beauhebert Fort. It is no doubt this fort which is referred to in a document of 1753 (Archives, 1894, 194) as a new fort 20 miles up the river armed with 24 guns and 200 men. It is marked on many maps of the time, as D'Anville, and Green-Jeffreys of 1755, and also on the Morris Maps of 1758 and 1765. It evidently stood very close to the river, as shown by the latter (Map No. 21) in the angle between the two rivers. Its site is, however, entirely unknown to the residents, and no remains of it can be seen.

There is said to be a tradition of an old fort at Harding's Point, but I know nothing further of it.

D.—Fort LaTour. Despite much discussion and some controversy the site of this fort is not yet with certainty determined. The subject is fully discussed in a paper in these Transactions, IX., sect. ii., 61, and also in the *New Brunswick Magazine*, Vol. I., 20, 89, 165. In my opinion, all available evidence drawn from the narrative of Denys, and from all known maps, tends to show that it stood on the east bank of the harbour, probably at Portland Point, on the knoll at the head of Rankin's Wharf, (Map No. 22, also 37.) Mr. Hannay claims that it stood at Old Fort, in Carleton; but even in his most recent article he adduces no positive evidence for his view, but contents himself with combating minor points in my argument. Since the subject is so fully discussed in the articles above mentioned, which are readily accessible, it is unnecessary again to go over the ground here. I will simply point out this important fact, that if Fort LaTour be assumed to have stood at the Old Fort in Carleton, we not only meet with well-nigh insuperable difficulties in explaining the narrative of Denys and all of the maps of the time, but we have no explanation of the origin of the fort which is known to have stood at Portland Point;¹ on the other hand, if Fort LaTour is assumed to

¹ It may be claimed that this was the "new fort" which Church in 1696 found the French building on the east side of the river. But in fact a fort stood here earlier as shown beyond doubt by the Frauquelin map recently published by Marcel. This map which for reasons given in my "Carto-

have stood at Portland Point, Denys' narrative is perfectly clear and consistent; the placing of the fort on the east side by nearly all the early maps, and its removal to the east side in later and more accurate editions of those which at first placed it on the west side, is perfectly plain; and the origin of the fort at Portland Point is explained. While I have never claimed that the evidence is logically conclusive that the fort stood at Portland Point, I do think that the probabilities drawn from the sources mentioned are overwhelmingly in favour of this position, and that a case for the Carleton site can be made out only by neglecting the aggregate evidence and concentrating attention upon minutiae in which inconsistencies may be found in the imperfect records of the time. It is by no means unlikely that records will yet be discovered that will settle this most interesting point.

It has been maintained by Mr. W. P. Dole that Fort LaTour stood where now Fort Dufferin is, and his argument is published in the *St. John Sun*, Dec. 5, 1888. It rests, however, chiefly upon traditions, which are most untrustworthy for events long past. It is said that an early battery could also be traced here, and that there was an old well called locally the "old French well."

E.—Charnisay's Fort. It is recorded by Denys that Charnisay built a fort on a little knoll a short distance beyond the flats and creek where the Mill-pond now is in Carleton, and the topography of that region allows this site to have been in but one place, namely, on the site of the Old Fort in Carleton. It was probably the first fort to occupy that site. (Map No. 37.)

In 1659 Temple states that he "had repaired the fort of St. John" (Archives, 1894, 3), but we have no hint as to whether it was that at Carleton or at Portland Point.

In grants to Sieur de Marson in 1676 he is spoken of as "Proprietor of the Forts of Jemseg and of the River St. John." As his Seigniorial Grant of 1672 was on the east side of the river, the Fort of the River St. John was probably there—in all probability on the site of old Fort LaTour.

F.—Fort Martignon. The Sieur de Martignon received a seigniorial grant at the mouth of the river, on the west side, in 1672, and the early censuses return him as living there. On a fine map dated 1708, but belonging much earlier,



MAP No. 22. PROBABLE SITE OF FORT LA TOUR.

graphy" (p. 365) must belong before 1696, marks two forts on the Harbour, one on each side, and names that on the west *F. Martignon*, and that on the east *F. La Tour*. The "new fort" therefore of Church must have been the repairing of an older one, or else one on a distinct site, and in any event the new works could not have been important, for the next year the site at Carleton was occupied by Villebon as later described.

made by Franquelin, and recently published by Marcel, Fort Martignon is marked on the west side of the entrance to the St. John, while on the east is marked Fort LaTour. Martignon's fort in all probability occupied the site of Charnisay's, and was the second on that site.

G.—Fort St. Jean. In 1700 Villebon built a fort at the mouth of the St. John, whose site is placed beyond question by the plan of it preserved in the French Archives, of which a copy is herewith given. (Map No. 23.) It stood at Old Fort, Carleton, and probably was the third on that site. The higher land that commanded the fort, spoken of in other records also, is the high land on Water street, east of Ludlow, in Carleton. By advice of Brouillan it was abandoned shortly after Villebon's death in 1700.

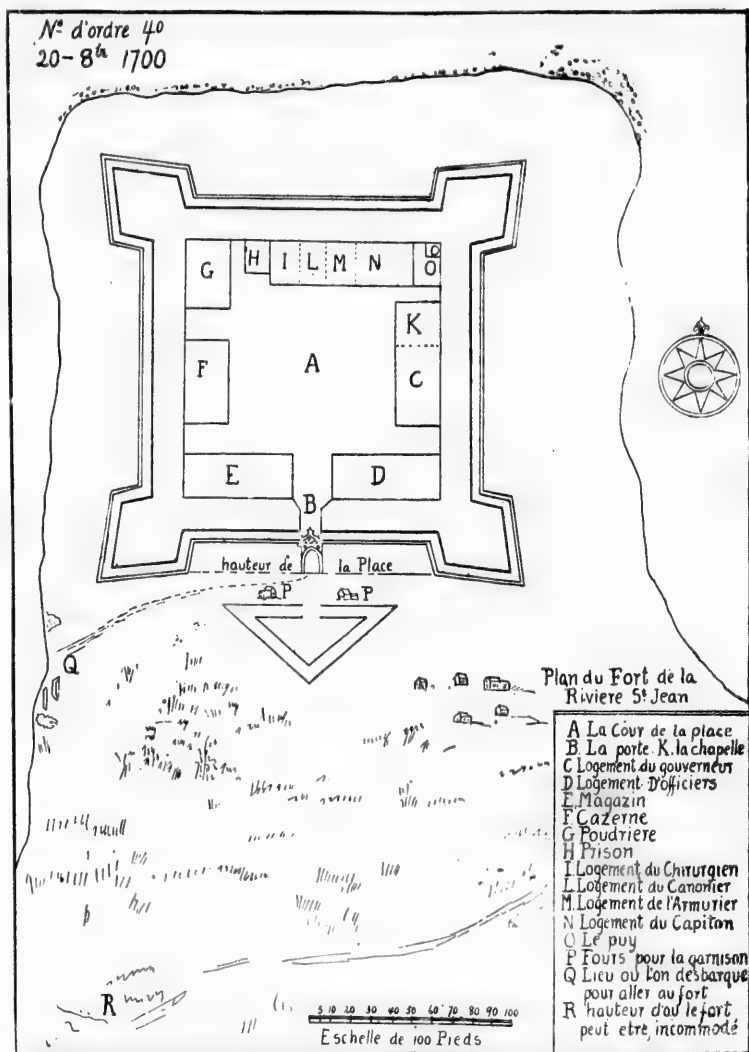
H.—Fort Menagoueche. In 1749 the French troops came to St. John with the intention to erect a fort, but they were forbidden by the Nova Scotia Government; but a document of 1753 states that they had greatly strengthened the old fort at the mouth of the river [Archives, 1894, 194], while another of 1755 [Archives, 1894, 206], shows they had partially demolished it. This was also, as shown by Monckton's Report, at the Old Fort at Carleton, and hence probably the fourth on that site.

I.—Fort Frederick. When Monckton landed here in 1758 he found the old fort abandoned, and proceeded immediately to repair it, and his account shows that it was the fort on this site he repaired. It was named Fort Frederick in that year, and was probably the fifth on that site, and the last. It is apparently the Fort called *Fort Monckton* on Morris' chart of Nova Scotia of 1761. The place is now occupied by buildings, but some of the ramparts can still be seen. It is known locally as the "Old Fort," and is generally believed by the residents to be the site of Fort LaTour.

3. The Petitcodiac-Missequash District.

A. SETTLEMENTS.

By far the largest Acadian settlements in the territory of the present New Brunswick were around the great salt marshes at the head of the Bay of Fundy, particularly about the mouths of the Missequash, AuLac and Tantramar rivers. Temple built a trading post at the "bottom of the Bay" in 1659, which was probably in this region. (Archives, 1894, 3). The first settlers removed from Port Royal to Beaubassin (i.e., in the vicinity of Fort Lawrence in Nova Scotia) shortly after 1671. The whole isthmus was granted in Seigniory to Sieur LaVallière in 1676, after which the settlers rapidly increased in numbers and spread to the Memramcook, Petitcodiac and Shepody, until at the time of the expulsion in 1755, they numbered several hundreds in this region. LaVallière had a Seigniorial manor, mentioned in a document of 1705 (Rameau, II, 337), but its site is unknown, though probably it was on the present Tonges Island, which was long called Isle LaVallière. After the expulsion the Acadians were permitted, in 1767, by the Nova Scotia Government, to return and settle on the Memramcook, and this settlement and a small one at Fox Creek on the Petitcodiac, as M. Poirier pointed out in his "Père

Plan du Fort de la Rivière de St Jean: p^{re} le St de Villieu. 20 8^{me} 1700

MAP NO. 23. PLAN OF FORT ST. JEAN.
From the Archives de la Marine, Paris; $\times \frac{1}{2}$.

Lefebvre," are the only ones in all Acadia in which the Acadians now occupy lands on which they were settled before the expulsion.

As to the exact sites of their settlements we have the evidence of maps, of which many were made to illustrate the military operations of 1751-1755, of Franquet's detailed report of 1752, and traditions. The earlier settlements were no doubt in the immediate vicinity of the present Fort Cumberland and Fort Lawrence, but gradually they spread to other places. The Acadians tended to settle not far from the churches, of which it is known there was one at each of these places. Both settlements and single farm houses were placed (as the numerous cellars still visible show), close to the marshes on the edges of the low ridges in which that region abounds, while their farms were on the marshes themselves, reclaimed by dykes from the sea. The principal settlements in 1752, according to Franquet's report, were at *Baie Verte*, *Weska*, (Westcock), *LaCoup*, *Le Lac*, *Tintamarre*, and also at *Memnacouk* (Memramcook), *Chipoudy* (Shepody), and *Peccouac* (Petitcodiac).

A.—Beauséjour. The map of the Isthmus in Mante's History, belonging really to 1755, shows French houses in several places along the edge of the Fort Cumberland Ridge, and also on the eastern end of Cole's Island. The church is here clearly shown near the fort, and tradition assigns to it a position near the eastern road along the ridge, west of the trenches, where its position is still pointed out.¹ (Map No. 44.) The church is yet more clearly shown on the map in the "Memoires sur le Canada," which shows also a village on the same slope and this inscription: "Aboiteau du L'Abbé Le Loutre." It is known that this Aboiteau, (i.e. a dam across a tidal river containing a sluice-way so arranged with a valve as to allow the fresh water to drain off and not allow the salt water to enter), was built across the Aulac river, a short distance (about two hundred yards) above the present Aboiteau, on which the railroad and highway cross the river.

There are some localities of importance near Fort Beauséjour (Cumberland), as shown on Map No. 44. The "Holy Well," a fine spring, was not far from the church, and is said locally to take its name from the use of its water for holy water. Le Loutre's house is believed to have stood near. The old French burial-ground is said to have been where the later graveyard (Map No. 44) is.

Old cellars, believed to be French, were visible until recently upon Tonges Island, particularly towards its southern end. It is probable that here was the residence of La Vallière, Seigneur of Beaubassin, for the island long bore his name.

B.—Westcock. Several houses are shown here on the Mante map, evidently on the margin of the upland near the present site of the village, and towards Sackville. It is marked on most of the maps of the time.

C.—Le Lac. As shown by the French plan of 1779 (really 1755) this village stood near the head of the present AuLac river, apparently on Jolicure ridge

¹ One may locate this site thus:—If one stands at the lower western angle of the English trenches and looks across just to the left of Shepody Mountain, he is looking over the site; and if he advances 48 paces in that direction he will stand about in the middle of the site of the church.

just below the present Rye's Corner. Just above it the road from Beauséjour to Beaubassin crosses the head of AuLac River [see map No. 24.]

- D.—Tintemarre** Franquet calls this a large village with a missionary, and it is marked upon all of the maps of the time. The Mante map shows this village just above a considerable branch of the Tantramar River towards the west; hence it must have stood above the branch coming from the present Morice's Millpond, along the margin of the upland between the Millpond and the Jolicure Road, and perhaps somewhat above this. Mr. Milner places it about Four Corners, and states that the chapel stood on the present site of the Beulah, with which residents agree. This church stands on the north-east of the four corners. Locally there is said to have been here a French burial ground also.

In some records and on some maps a village, *Pres des Bourques*, is mentioned, though Franquet does not refer to it, perhaps because it was established after his time. The French map shows its situation very clearly, as on the margin of the upland near Sackville not far north of the present highway road to Amherst. Mr. Milner places it on the farm of the late Philip Palmer. On Morice's Brook, it is said locally, were formerly remains of a French settlement, comprising ten or twelve families.

- E.—La Coupe.** This village is marked on no map that I have seen and I know of no record that definitely locates its site. It must have been near the La Coup river, which is a branch of the Aulac, striking off to the westward just south of the extremity of Jolicure ridge. Considering the very favourable location of the extremity of the Jolicure ridge for a settlement, it is probable that here was its site.

- F.—Baie Verte.** The old maps show clearly that this village stood precisely on the site of the present village of that name, though there were other houses scattered about in that vicinity, and a few near Fort Gaspereau. Alex. Monro states: "At Baie Verte, near the residence of Capt. Weeks, the French had an establishment of mills; hence the name, Mill Creek, was given to the stream. Around this spot they settled, and here too was their graveyard."

The other villages mentioned by Franquet and on the maps of the time, including another village at Weschkok, LaButte, Les Planches, Beaubassin, etc., were in Nova Scotia, or as Franquet puts it, in Acadia; but their identification is not within the scope of the present paper.

Montresor's map of 1768 marks a "Richart" between West Coup and Pintamat villages, hence in the position of *Prés des Bourques*. I have no other information upon such a place.

- G.—Memramcook.** I have no data for settling the exact site of the pre-expulsion settlement. Mante's map places it on the west side not far from the mouth; which is also the case with the French plan, which, however, also places a few houses on the east bank. M. Placide Gaudet, however, writes me that ancient aboideaux have been found near the College, which possibly belonged to pre-expulsion settlers. It is very likely that these were on the upland near the great marshes, just below the present Rockland Bridge. Local tradition states that some ten families lived in pre-expulsion times on Brownell Brook, two miles above Dorchester, and remains of their houses could formerly be seen; and others lived on the front of the "Chapman Farm."

- H.—Petitcodiac.** For these settlements also we have few data. Rameau gives an account of its first settlement by Blanchard in 1698, but we have no facts

to enable us to locate his settlement. The topography of the river on the maps of 1755 is so distorted as to be of little use in this connection. They represent settlements on both banks below the Bend, but it is quite impossible to locate them further, unless one assumes that they stood near the largest marshes. M. Gaudet, our best authority on matters relating to the history of the Acadians, writes me that an Acadian village stood on the present site of Moncton,¹ but later the settlers moved to Coverdale, where their village was known as *Village de Babineau*. This is confirmed by a "Carte Réduite du Golfe de St. Laurent" of 1754, which marks a "mission" on the east side of this river at about the Bend.

An old plan in the Crown Land Office applies the name *Village Point* to the point on the north of the Petitecodiac just above Mill Stream, which is above the mouth of Turtle Creek. Probably this marks the site of a French settlement, especially as there is dyked marsh near.

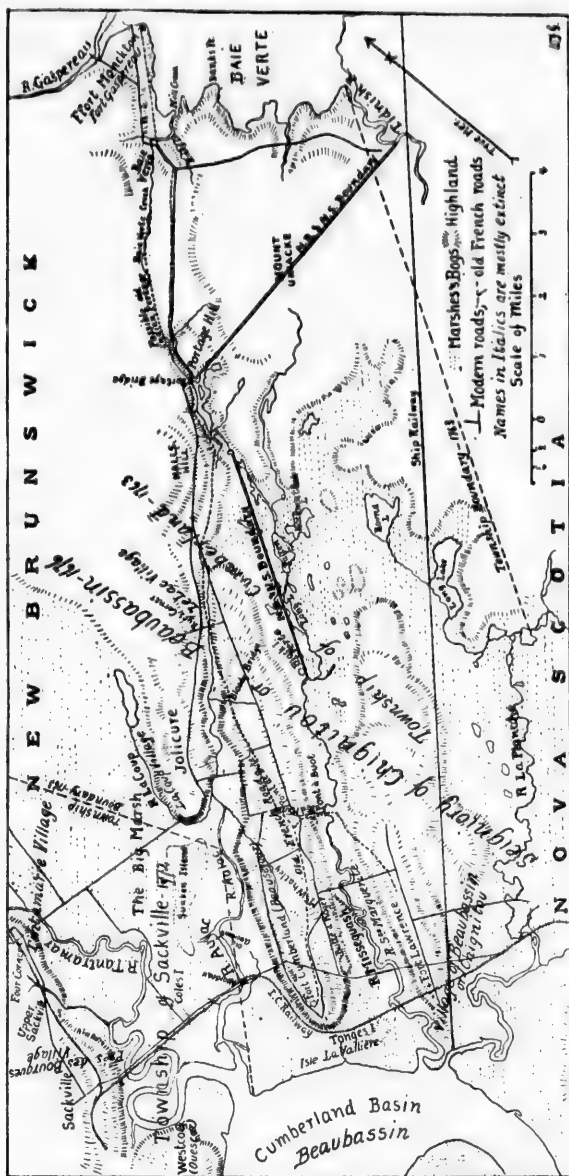
It is said locally that the burial-ground adjoining the Baptist Church at Hillsboro is on the site of an old French burial-ground, and that the first settlers of Hillsboro in 1765 found cleared fields, fruit-trees and broken dykes.

It is said in Cockburn's Report on Emigration [of 1827] that the French formerly occupied the intervalles at the Forks of Turtle Creek, calling the place *Fourche à Crapaud*. It is very likely that they occupied locations on this, Coverdale and Pollet Rivers after the expulsion in order to be above the reach of English ships, as they probably occupied the French Lakes and other places difficult of access on the St. John for a similar reason.

Pote, in his Journal of 1745, mentions that he marched past several French houses by the side of this river, the last of which was that of bon Soliel [Beausoleil]. One of the Parkman MS. [New France, I., 265] states that in 1756 there were six or eight houses on the Portage from Shediac to Petitecodiac. The present Acadian settlement of Fox Creek was founded, according to M. Gaudet, in 1767, and occupies the site of an old settlement.

I.—Shepody. A full account of the foundation of the settlements on this river in 1698 is given by Rameau de Saint Père (I., 237), but none of the records nor maps of the time give any idea of their precise location. There are, however, in the Crown Land Office in Fredericton several old plans which show the location of the old French dykes at Shepody and thus allow an inference as to the location of the settlements. An "old French Dyke" is given on the north side of the entrance to Shepody River, and an "old dyke," with an "Abois D'Eau," between Beaver Brook and the next creek to the eastward of it, called on the plans German Creek. These, however, can represent but a small portion of the dyked lands on this river, of which one of the early maps says "Shepody, one of the best French settlements." Tradition places a large French settlement at Hopewell Hill, and assigns to many old dykes a French origin.

¹ This is confirmed by the following statement from an historical article in the Moncton Times of December 11th, 1889. "Previous to the arrival of these immigrants from Pennsylvania (in 1765) the country in the vicinity of Moncton, in common with other parts of the province, had been inhabited first by the Indians and afterwards by the French, and the ruins of a rude chapel and graveyard were found near where the sugar refinery and gas and water office building now stands, at the lower end of Main street. The late James Beatty, senior, built a house on this site about the year 1839, and in making excavations for a cellar, some sixteen coffins were dug up containing remains supposed to be those of early French settlers. . . . The bones were respectfully interred in the old burying ground near by."



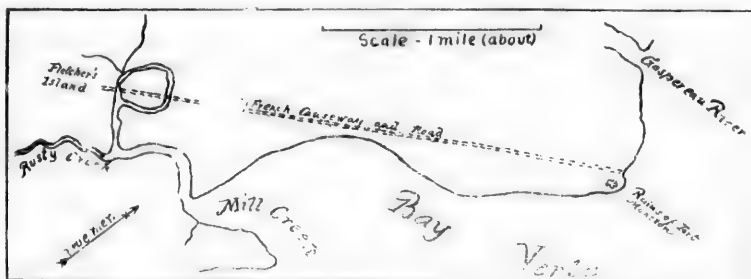
MAP NO. 24. HISTORICAL MAP OF THE ISTHMUS OF CHIGNECTO.

The following account of the French settlements in this region is taken from a well written and apparently reliable anonymous article in the *St. John Sun*, April 5th, 1893. "For a long time after the departure of the Acadians and even at the present time, are many evidences and remains of French habitation. One settlement existed near what is now the village of Albert, another on what is called the 'point' at Hopewell, while the central village was at what is known as Church brook, just to the eastward of Hopewell Hill. Here was the old French Chapel, located on the eastern bank of the brook. . . . The logs of the old chapel remained long after the arrival of the English settlers, and the dwelling of one of the residents of this village, erected a few years ago, rests on the corner-stone of the once sacred edifice. Here also was the burial-ground, and in summer time are still to be seen the moss-covered mounds, now trampled and forsaken, and the broken headstones that mark the resting place of the Acadian dead. . . . There are also many remains of old French cellars, mills, etc. These mills were principally on the marsh creeks. The stones from the mills have been found in many instances, and are still in existence. The French dykes all remain. They were not as far out as those of the present day, but still enclosed a large area of marsh. No aboideaux were used, the creeks being dyked along the sides up to the upland."

Of importance in connection with the early settlements are the roads, of which the principal one was that from Fort Beauséjour to Fort Gaspereau. This is marked on many maps of the time, and especially on the plan made by Captain Lewis in 1755, which states that the road was from a survey. The part from Pont à Buot to Portage Hill must have been made before Franquet's visit in 1752, for he marks it on his map, though he went by water between these places. Tradition still points out the site of portions of the road, and it is said that the late Alexander Monro, the surveyor, had in early life traced out the entire road from one fort to the other. He states in his "Isthmus of Chignecto" that the road ran via Jolieu and Portage Hill. From the maps, and from traditions gathered on the spot, the course of this road is drawn upon the accompanying map No. 24. From near Beauséjour to near Portage Hill it followed about the top of the ridge between the two highway roads of the present day. In the gathering of data for this map, as in many other matters connected with this region, I have had the very great advantage of the assistance of Mr. W. C. Milner, whose knowledge of the history of this region is thorough and accurate, and also of Mr. Howard Trueman, of Point de Bute, who knows so well its later history. This main road was more than a mere track through the woods, for it was passable for horses and to some extent for waggons. An important branch of this road, older than the road itself, ran to Pont à Buot, whose location will be considered presently, and thence to Fort Lawrence. Some maps show also a road along the western margin of the Fort Cumberland Ridge, though faintly, and it was probably an unimportant trail to the houses in that vicinity. Some maps mark a road across the marshes from Beauséjour to near the present Sackville, probably not far from the present highway, and this road continues on to the Memramcook, evidently by way of the present road along Frosty Hollow brook. It then continues from the Memramcook to the bend of the Petitcodiac, but the maps are too imperfect to allow us to identify its course. Probably this was but a track through the woods and not a road properly cleared.

Franquet in his report mentions two roads from Pont à Buot to Beauséjour. One, the lower and poorer, led to Butte à Roger; the other, shown on the maps, went up the hill through the woods, the two joining on the hill opposite Butte à Roger.

From Baie Verte village a road ran straight across the flats to Fort Gaspereau. Alexander Monro thus speaks of it: "From Mill Creek, the road, nearly two miles in length, to the fort was in a straight line. About a mile and a quarter of this distance from the creek is marsh, over which the road was made on four rows of piles. The piles were driven into the marsh, and were about eight feet apart, and six feet above ground. On the top of each line of posts, timbers were extended lengthwise, and the whole was covered with plank. Between the marsh and the fort the road, still visible, passes over an upland flat." In a diary of 1755, given by Mr. Monro, we read: "We Passe over a Cassway one & a half mile In Length. Come



MAP No. 25. CAUSEWAY FROM BAIE VERTE TO FORT GASPÉREAU (MONCKTON).
From an old Plan; $\times \frac{1}{2}$.

to ye Fort Gauspearu." Traces of this causeway are still to be seen and are known locally. Its exact course is shown on old plans in the Crown Land Office. (Map No. 25.)

In connection with the military operations of 1751-1755, and upon the maps of the time, several places are prominently mentioned. The sites of the principal of these are as follows:

Pont à Buot. The maps show this bridge across the Missegnash about two miles above Fort Beauséjour, at Point à Buot. The place is pointed out by tradition, and is made certain by the extremely detailed maps of Franquet. (Maps No. 26, 27.) The *Rivière à l'Ours* is a small stream crossing the highway road some 400 yards west of Point de Butte corner. There was here a French post later to be mentioned.

Butte à Roger. There is no doubt as to its location. It is shown clearly on the French Plan of 1755 (1779) and elsewhere. Franquet says a guard was kept there. It is the marked, somewhat isolated little hill east of the highway road between Sackville and Amherst, just where it descends Fort Cumberland Ridge, (see Map No. 24). On its top seems to be a cellar, perhaps not ancient.

Some of the other Buttes are easy to identify. Butte à Janot was that from which the *Rivière à l'Ours* descended, and Janot's house was



MAP NO. 28. THE ISTHMUS OF CHIGNECTO, BY FRANQUET, 1752.
From the Ottawa copy of the original in Paris; $\times \frac{1}{10}$.

there, according to Franquet, and it is shown on his plan [Map 26]. Butte à Charles was but 120 toises from Fort Beauséjour, and parallel. The Butte Amirande was a half league away, and was perhaps the hill where St. Mark's Church now stands, though it may have been a gravel hill nearer the marsh.¹

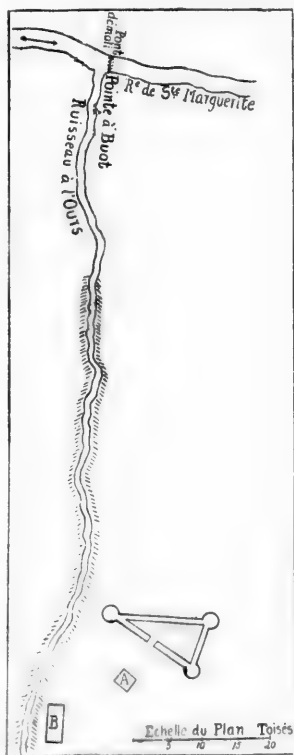
Bloody Bridge. This place took its name from an event thus described by Mr. Milner: "A more tragic affair occurred earlier in the year [1759] when a sergeant and three men of the Provincial Rangers and seven soldiers of the 46th Regiment then at the fort went out to cut wood. They were ambuscaded at a place called Bloody Bridge, and five of them were scalped and stripped."

Its site is well known and marked on Map No. 24. The earthen abutments of the old bridge on which the old French road crossed the small stream here flowing into the Aulac are still to be seen.

Another locality of similar interest is known locally,—a place at the southern end of Jolicure, where Lieut. Dickson and several soldiers were ambuscaded by the Indians in 1757, the men slain and Dickson carried off a captive to Quebec.

Portage Hill. This is marked on the Franquet map [Map No. 26], and mentioned by him in his report as "Butte du Portage." He states there were two houses there, and a storehouse for the reception of goods in transit by the portage route from Beauséjour to Baie Verte. The position of this hill is well known; it is still called *Portage Hill*, and the road passes over it just to the eastward of *Portage Bridge*. [See Map No. 24.] On the very top of this hill, just to the northward of the highway road, is an excavation like a large cellar, overgrown with bushes, which is possibly the cellar of the storehouse, and residents state there were other cellars on the south side of the road, a little farther to the east. Here the portage began from the headwaters of the Misseguash to Baie Verte, as already described.

Old French dykes are known in several places, particularly on the Aulac, where they have been ren-



MAP No. 27. SURROUNDINGS OF PONT À BUOT, BY FRANQUET, 1752. From the Ottawa copy of the original in Paris; $\times \frac{1}{2}$.

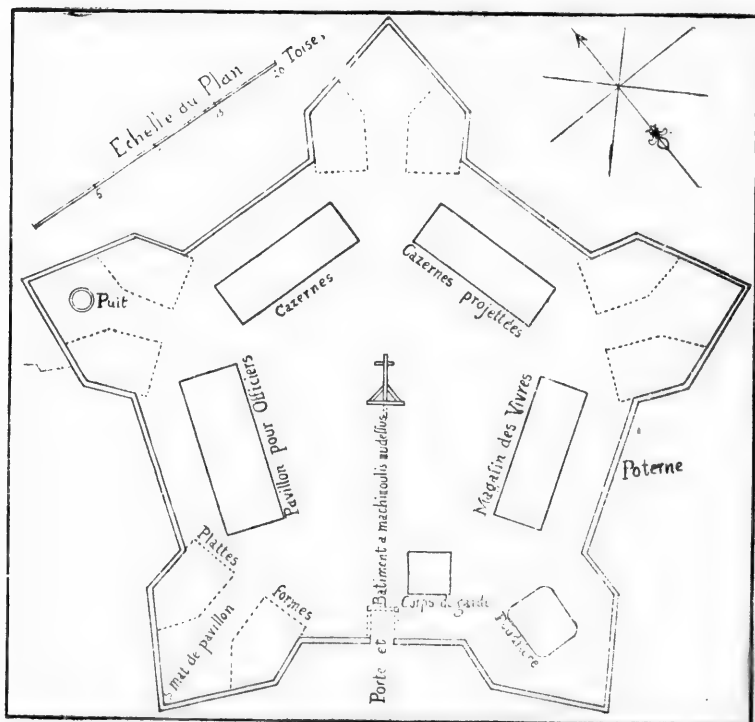
- A. Logement du Commandant.
- B. Cazernes pour le détachement.

¹ These buttes are mostly rounded gravel hills (geologically "drumlins") extending along the southeastern side of the Fort Cumberland Ridge. They would form ideal sites for the houses of the marsh farms.

dered useless by the construction of aboideaux at the mouth of that river. A series of dykes is to be seen on Prospect Farm, at Point de Bute, where they have been pointed out to me by Mr. Howard Trueman, the owner of this place.

B. FORTS.

A.—Fort Beauséjour. There is not the slightest doubt as to the location of this fort. It was captured by the British in 1755, renamed Fort Cumberland, altered in details, but not in its main features, and the ruins are perfectly distinct to-day.

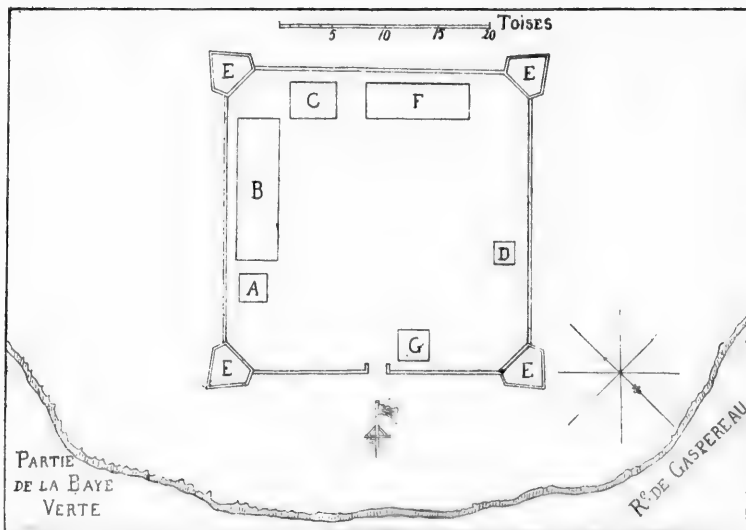


MAP NO. 28. PLAN OF FORT BEAUSÉJOIR, BY FRANQUET, 1752.
From the Ottawa copy of the original in Paris; $\times \frac{1}{2}$.

A plan of the fort is among the Franquet plans, of which an outline is given herewith [No. 28]. Another outline is on the map in the "Mémoires sur le Canada." After it became Fort Cumberland several plans of it were made. In the British Museum, King's Library, CXIX., is a series of views of Fort Cumberland of great interest. A plan of the fort accompanies the

report of Robert Morse in Canadian Archives, 1884, XXVII., 1881, 30. Another is in the Crown Land Office, Westmorland Book, I., 40, and it is partially upon this that Map No. 44 is based.¹

B.—Fort Gaspereau. The site of this fort is likewise perfectly known, for the British, after taking and renaming it Fort Monckton in 1755, altered it only in details, and its ruins are plain to-day. Franquet made a most detailed plan of it, of which an outline is given herewith [map No. 29]. In August,



MAP No. 29. PLAN OF FORT GASPEREAU, BY FRANQUET, 1752.
From the Ottawa copy of the original in Paris; $\times \frac{1}{2}$.

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|--|
| A. Logement | () Magasin. | E. Batiments couverts, etc. |
| B. Magasin des Vivres. | | F. Batiment . . . proposé pour loger le détachement. |
| C. Logement de l'Officier Commandant. | | G. Corps de garde projeté. |
| D. Poudrière. | | |

1897, I made an examination ~~and plan~~ of the present condition of it, which is given herewith [map No. 30]. It shows the considerable changes which have occurred in the coast line since 1752, and points to the time when the ruins of this fort will be entirely washed away. A full account of the fort was given by E. T. P. Shewen about 1892 in a ten-page pamphlet entitled "Notes of Fort Monckton." There is also a plan in the British Museum differing somewhat from Franquet's.

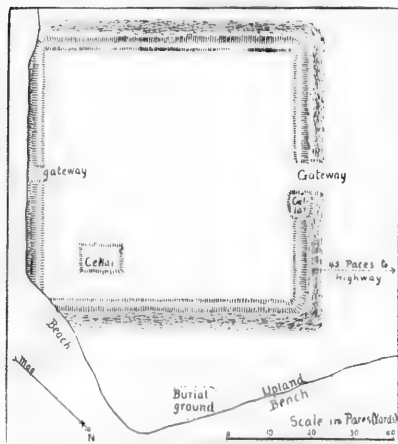
C.—The Post at Pont à Buot. The location of this post is made certain by the fine map of Franquet [map No. 27]; and he also gives a full description of it in his report. Not the slightest trace of this post now remains, but the measurements so accurately given enable one to find the approximate site.

¹ The compass on Map No. 28 shows that the *Porte* was not where the present main entrance is, but faced the road which led along the ridge.

The course of the Miseguash has changed somewhat since Franquet's map was made, and the river is now much farther out from the shore. The *Riviere a l'Ours* (the small stream west of the present Point de Bute Corner, (Map No. 24) run shere in a gully a few feet deep, as the hachure lines of the Franquet map imply.

There is said locally to have been a block-house about half a mile north of Fort Beauséjour, on the present "Boomer Place," about 100 yards from the road on the highest point of the ridge. It is supposed to have commanded the road leading from the present Sackville.

Franquet's Report mentions also French posts at Weska [Westcock], and Chipoudy [Shepody]. As to the former, I have no idea of the site of the post. As to that at Shepody it is possible it stood on St. Mary's point, for the Mante map and French plan both belonging in 1755, put a fort or post on this point and call it *fort de Shepody*. There is no trace of it to be seen, or known locally.



MAP NO. 30. PRESENT CONDITION OF FORT GASPAREAU (MONCKTON).

From a plan by the author in 1807.

Cross-lines are ramparts, lengthwise lines are the ditch.

Between the Memramcook and the Petiteodiac is a point known locally as *Fort Folly Point* [Folly Point on the maps]. I am told by residents that there was a fort on the point on whose site the present light-house was built.¹ and that it was said to have been built by the Acadians during their troubles with the English. Locally it is said it was called Folly because there was really nothing there to defend. It is possible that both here and on St. Mary's Point there were posts for observation of the approaching English and the giving of alarms to the settlers up the rivers. Thus the "*Mémoires sur le Canada*," [p.

44] mentions with reference to the approach of Monckton's fleet towards Beauséjour in 1755; "*Vergor l'ignoroit; des habitants de Chipoudy et de Pékekoudiac, ayant aperçu cette flotte, le lui firent savoir en toute diligence.*" Probably they passed by land over the Memramcook portage to Westcock and thence across the marshes to Beauséjour.

4. The Richibucto District.

In this part of the Province, from Cape Tormentine to Cape Escuminac, the Acadian settlements became more numerous than elsewhere in New Brunswick. Historically they may be divided into two groups, those formed before the expulsion, and those formed since.

¹ A resident tells me that he helped in the building of the lighthouse, and in making its foundation a wall of stone 23 feet in length, the so-called fort, had to be torn down.

A. SETTLEMENTS.

A.—De Chauffours' Settlement at Richibucto. The Seigniorial grant to the Sieur de Chauffours of 1684, states that on the border of the river Richibucto, on the coast on the southwest, he had two years previously taken up three arpents of land, and had built a fort of stakes and two houses for his residence and to store the grain he had raised the previous year. The site of this settlement we do not know. Tradition places the earliest French settlement at Richibucto Cape. It was possibly on the south side of the harbour not far west of Indian Island. Cooney states that before 1755 the French were pretty thickly settled at Richibucto, (where the town now stands,) where there was a village of about forty houses, and another small one at the mouth of the Aldouane. Aside from these, however, I know of no reference to pre-expulsion settlements in this region, though there must have been settlers about the different harbours.

The years between 1751 and 1755 were troublous enough for the Acadians about the head of the Bay of Fundy, and many of them retired to Shediac and the other harbours of this coast, and yet more who escaped the expulsion in 1755, retreated to the same region. Bellin in 1755, speaks of all this coast as inhabited. From 1755 onwards considerable settlements were forming about these harbours, and unlike those at Miramichi, Nepisiguit and Restigouche they appear not to have been again disturbed by the English. Much about the history of these settlements has been published in newspaper articles by M. Placide Gaudet, from whom the following facts are taken: The original settlement at Shediac was at Grandigue on the north of the harbour where a large settlement still is, and the present site of Shediac was not occupied until the present century. In 1767 lands were assigned to twenty-four Acadians at Shediac and Cocagne [Murdoch. II., 472]. In 1772 lands were granted to Acadians at Cocagne. The settlement of Buctouche was not founded until 1785, and Richibucto in 1790. In 1791 several Acadians petitioned Governor Carleton for lands on the south bank of Richibucto, and in 1798 they were given a grant of what is now Richibucto village. There were, however, no doubt Acadian settlers much earlier on this river. The large island south of the entrance is on the charts called *French Island*, but is also known as Indian Island. St. Louis de Kent was established in 1805. On the condition of these settlements in 1811, 1812, the Journal of Bishop Plessis is very valuable.

B.—Belair vers Cocagne in Abbé le Guerne's letter of 1756, was, according to M. Gaudet, six or seven miles up the Cocagne on the north side.

At Cocagne Cape, according to M. Gaudet, is a place still called *Camp de Boishébert*, where Boishébert spent the winters of 1755-56.

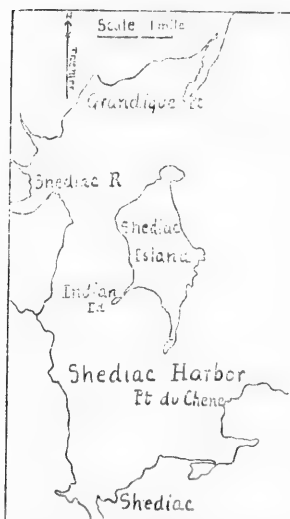
B. FORTS.

The Fort of DeChauffours, already spoken of, was, of course, merely a palisaded dwelling.

A.—Shediac. But a single fort of importance in this region is known, that at Shediac, often mentioned in early documents and shown on maps. It was built by LaCorne in 1749, and is spoken of in one report as "premier établissement du Roi." Franquet speaks of it in his report as "the first estab-

lishment of the King; there is there a guard magazine and storehouse." Bellin speaks of the "petit fort" here in 1755. It is marked on D'Anville's map of 1755, Green-Jefferys of the same year and Montresor of 1768, in all cases on the north side of the Shediac river a little above its mouth. In 1897 I visited Shediac and made an effort to locate the fort. I found that local tradition pointed to Indian Island, (an island in the harbour so small that it

is not shown on most maps,) and that no site on the mainland seemed to be known to the residents [map No. 31]. I visited Indian Island and found the distinct remains of an earthwork some three feet high with a shallow ditch outside. As much of this as can be seen, is shown on the accompanying map No. 32. The island, a flat gravel terrace, 10 to 15 feet above high tide and densely wooded, is rapidly washing away, but it is easy to trace the former extent of the fort from the ruins that remain. It is said by residents of the harbour that this is known as the Indian fort, and that it was called *Fort Sauvage* by the French, and I have been told by an Indian chief that it was built by the Indians for protection against the Mohawks. It is difficult to believe that this very small fort on a tiny island surrounded by salt water was the French fort referred to in the documents of the time, and it may be really a fort built by the Indians themselves, as were Nerepis, Meductic, Richibucto and other Indian forts, while the French fort was perhaps on the mainland. But it is difficult to explain on the latter supposition how all knowledge of it has utterly disappeared.¹



MAP NO. 31. SHEDIAC HARBOUR.
From a chart.

5. The Miramichi District.

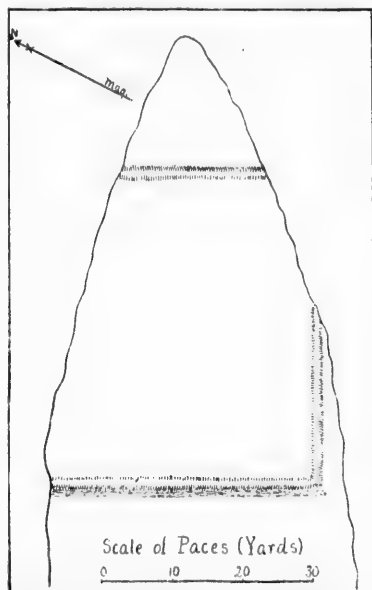
A.—Settlement of Richard Denys de Fronsac. This was the earliest French settlement on the Miramichi of which we have any authentic record, but its site is uncertain. Richard Denys was son of Nicolas Denys, who had settlements at Miscou and Nepisignit. LeClerc speaks of having visited it before 1691, and St. Valier in 1688 speaks of it as "a little fort of four bastions formed of stakes, and in this fort a house where M. de Fronsac makes his residence" [p. 32]. As to its site, LeClerc gives us no help; but St. Valier says of it that it was on the River of Manne, at a league from that of St. Croix, and that near it ["pres de là"] is a place called, in the language of the Indians, *Skinoubondiche*, where were the three leagues of land given to the Recollets for a mission by M. Denys. There is no doubt as to the location

¹ During my visit to Shediac I was under the impression that the maps marked the fort on the south side of the entrance to the Shediac, and hence made my inquiries there, and examined the point with great care. I did not look on the north side, but the residents, who took much interest in the inquiries, would hardly have failed to know of it were there any tradition of its existence.

of Skinoubondiche. As already explained it was at Burnt Church; hence Denys' settlement was near it, and perhaps at Burnt Church Point itself, where later was a considerable village. This point can, however, hardly be said to be at a league from the River St. Croix, the old French name of the Miramichi. If the River Manne could be located it would settle the point; but the name seems French, not Indian, and despite much search, I have not been able to identify it.

Another hint as to its site is given us by LeClercq [p. 193], who speaks of spending a night at *Mirmenaganne*, four leagues from the fort of M. Richard de Fronsac. The only identification for this name I have been able to make is that it represents *Mool-mun-ok-un*, which, with the usual substitution of *r* for *l*, is not unlike it. *Mool-mun-ok-un* is the Micmac name of the Northwest Miramichi, and four leagues [about ten miles] from it would bring one to the forks at Beaubears Island.¹ On the northern bank here, just at the junction, the Jumeau map of 1685 places a flag, which may imply that the fort stood there, and a further confirmation is given to this site by the Franquelin-DeMeulles map of 1686 which names the little stream south-east of the present Beaubears Island, *E. de Mission* (Map No. 33). But this would hardly agree with St. Valier's statement that it was near Skinoubondiche, unless there were two places of that name.

There is a tradition that his fort stood at Bay de Vin, at the point on the eastern side of the harbour [shown on map No. 10], but this would not agree with the statements of St. Valier. One might suppose that *Riviere du Cache*²



MAP NO. 32. REMAINS OF THE FORT ON INDIAN ISLAND, SHEDIAC HARBOUR.

From a plan by the Author, 1897.

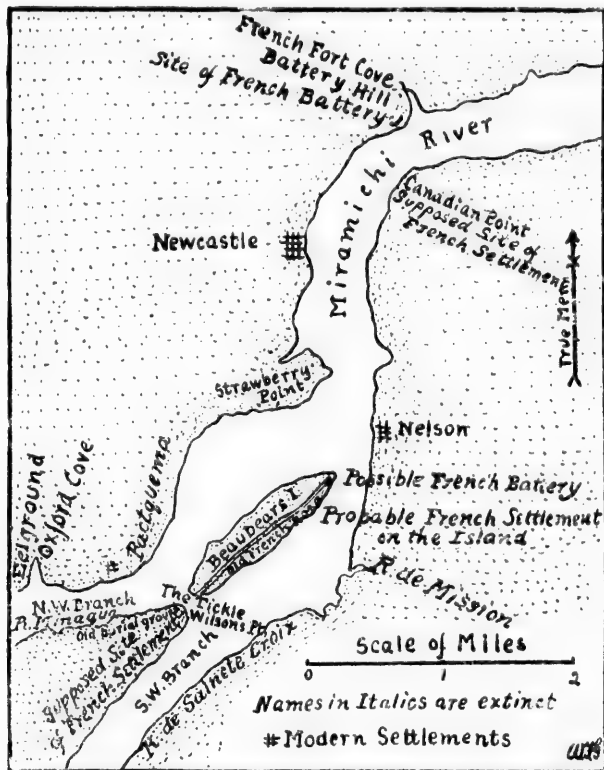
Cross-lines are ramparts, lengthwise lines are ditch.

¹ Nicolas Denys spent some days here before 1672, as he tells us in his *Histoire* (184), and describes what seems to be Strawberry Point, and speaks of the great quantity of "fraises and framboises" upon it.

² On the origin of this word my Place Nomenclature is perhaps in error. The original survey map of 1754 applies what is apparently the original of this name to the Grand Dune Brook, where it appears as *amion caichi*, which on D'Anville is copied as *vieux Caichi*. Now, a fact I had previously overlooked, the Micmac name of Grand Dune Brook is *A-be-am-ketck*. This is so strikingly like *amion Caichi* that we can only conclude either that the latter is simply the French pronunciation of the former, or else that the Indians have kept the French name, pronouncing it as nearly as they can like the French, just as on the St. John they say *Poos heth* for Boar's Head. The former is the more

[River of the hiding place] might be connected with it. The original river of this name seems to have been the Grand Dune, but there is really nothing to connect Denys with it.

- B.—**Bay du Vin.** Traditions are given by Cooney as to the foundation of the Bay du Vin settlements in 1672 or 1673, but there is no historical evidence whatever for such statements. But relics dug up, cellars, and traditions all



MAP NO. 33. HISTORICAL MAP OF PART OF MIRAMICHI.

point to the existence of former French settlements at several points, though we have no evidence at all as to the dates of their formation. A very large settlement, with a chapel whose site is known, is said to have existed opposite Bay du Vin Island. Probably most of them were not earlier than 1750, at about which time settlers began to leave the peninsula of Nova Scotia in some numbers.

probable explanation, and it would make R. Du Cache simply a French familiarization of the Indian name removed to a new locality, and would upset my theory on page 223 of the Place Nomenclature. It is very puzzling.

Other remains are found on Bay du Vin Island. Creuxius' map of 1660 marks a settlement on the south side of the bay. Another early settlement was near what is still called French River Point (Map No. 10). The local tradition, as given me by a resident, is that this village pursued the dog-fish fishery for the sake of the skins, which commanded a good price in France, where they were used for polishing purposes.

C.—Beaubears Point and Island. There can be little doubt that here also was an extensive settlement, though we know nothing positively as to its origin. Probably, however, it too, if not formed about 1750, was at least increased about that time, and doubtless still more after the expulsion of 1755. Cooney places the settlement on Beaubears Point *i.e.* Wilsons Point (map No. 33), comprising a town of two hundred houses, a chapel and provision stores; but most of the remains of settlement known locally are on the island. An old road along its centre is considered locally to be French. Cooney states there was a battery on the eastern end of the island. In 1756 there were 3,500 French under Boishébert on the Miramichi (Murdoch, II., 312). Doubtless this settlement was destroyed by Wolfe's expedition of 1758. Local tradition states that the passage, called "the Tickle," is artificial, and was made by Boishébert. This is an error, for Jumeau's map of 1685 and Franquelin-DeMeulles of 1686 show it with perfect clearness.

D.—Canadian Point. The tradition is that here was a settlement of some importance. This is confirmed by a most interesting view made in 1758 by one of Wolfe's officers, published as a copperplate in London in 1768. It is entitled "A View of Miramichi, a French Settlement in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, destroyed by Brigadier Murray detached by General Wolfe for that purpose, from the Bay of Gaspé."¹ This view shows a settlement of four houses and a church on the left bank of the river, at a place which I can only identify as just east of the extremity of Canadian Point (map No. 33). M. Gaudet calls this point *la pointe acadienne*, of which *canadian* may be a corruption.

E.—French Fort Cove. Tradition places here an early battery, no doubt correctly. The battery must have stood on the western entrance to the cove, which is still called locally "Battery Hill," for the position is admirably adapted for the purpose (map No. 33). There is here a high bluff, and the channel of the river curves close to the shore, so that the command of the river from the bluff is perfect. In this respect it resembles the Battery Point and Point la Garde on the Restigouche, and no doubt there was a battery here to protect the important settlements above.

F.—Burnt Church Point. Here was no doubt a very important village, and this point on the fine survey map of 1754 is called "Pointe de Village." The Indian settlement and church were close beside it, and it was the burning of this church by the English in 1758 that gave it its name. The local tradition, as given by Cooney, is that it was burnt by the captain of a ship bearing the remains of Wolfe to England in reprisal for the murder of some of his men by the Indians, but it is much more likely that it was burnt by the expedition of 1758, above mentioned, which was sent by Wolfe for the express purpose of destroying the French villages on the Miramichi. As I have elsewhere pointed out, the tradition of the six murdered sailors may belong earlier, and explain certain place names in that region (Place Nomen-

¹ This view is published in the new illustrated edition of Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe" (Little, Brown & Co.), which contains also a portrait of Boishébert.

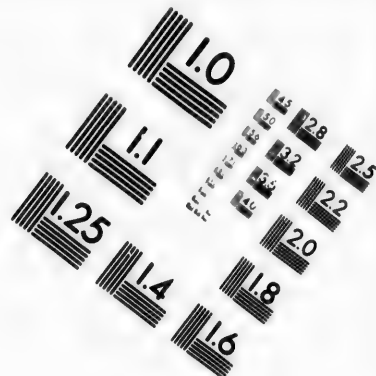
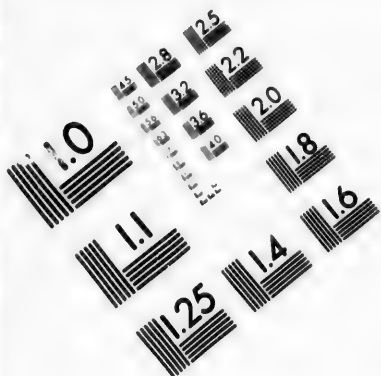
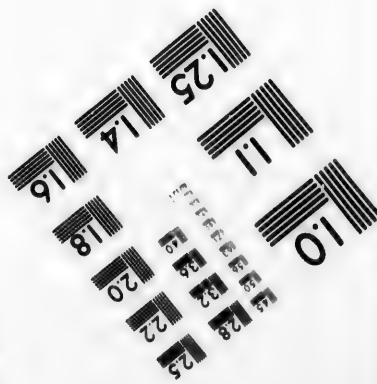
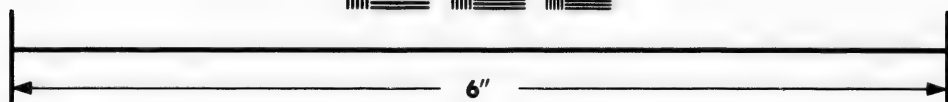
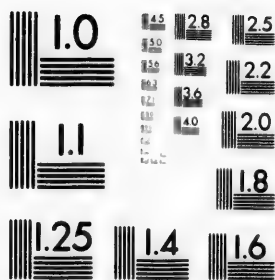


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clature, 223). This is, of course, the village mentioned by Smethurst in 1761. The village of Neguac, near by, is probably one of the Acadian settlements founded later in the century, though Cooney states that old French remains were visible there.

Tradition also places an early French establishment of Denys at Portage Island, used in hunting sea-cow or walrus.

A branch of the Lower Tabusintac is on the maps named *French Cove Brook*, probably indicating an early settlement.

6. *The Nepisiguit District.*

In this region there were two principal centres of settlement, Nepisiguit and Miscou. Their early history has been most fully and clearly sketched by Dr. N. E. Dionne in his "Miscou" in *Le Canada Français*, 1889. Recently Rev. W. O. Raymond has written upon the same subject (in *Collections, N. B. Historical Society*, II., 81-134). A valuable detailed account of the settlements of Miscou in this century, with some traditions, is to be found in Perley's Report on the Fisheries of New Brunswick, 1852.

A.—The earliest settlement on Miscou must have been that of Raymond de la Balde in 1623 (Dionne), who had a fishing and trading establishment there. Its site is unknown, but probably it was on Miscou harbour.

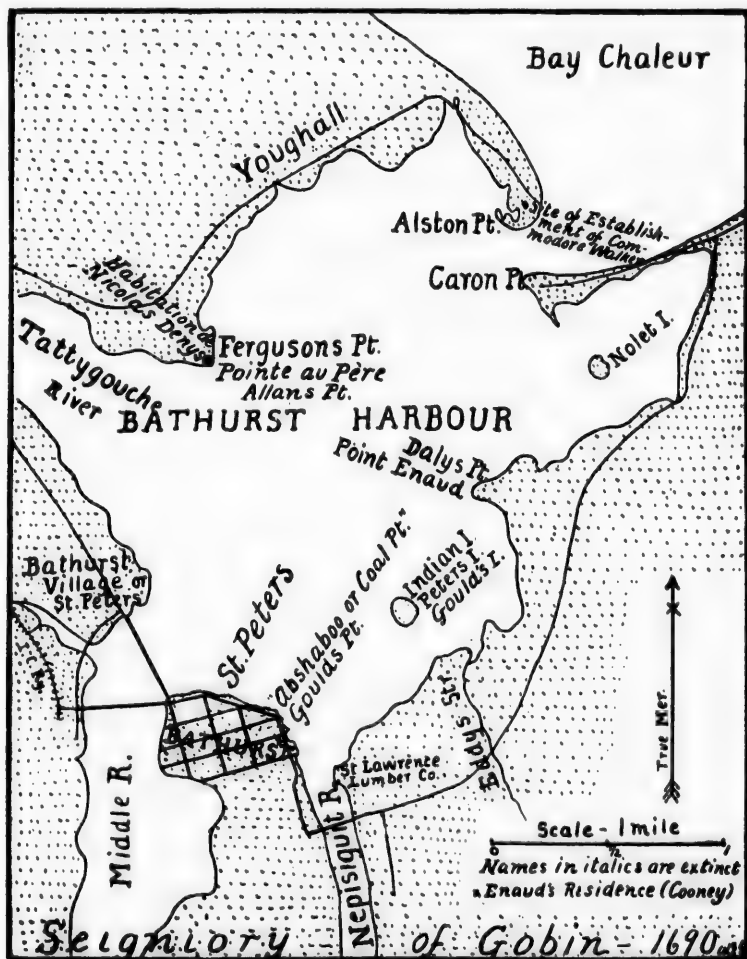
B.—Mission of St. Charles. In 1634 was founded the Jesuit Mission of Saint Charles at Miscou, which is frequently referred to in the Relations after that date. The site of this important mission is not positively known. The many references to it in the Relations give no hint of its site. Local tradition places it at *Grande Plaine*, near Mya Point, at the north end of Miscou Island (see map No. 34), but there seems to be little basis for this view, and in all probability it is an error. It was much more probably on Miscou harbour, and there are two reasons for this belief. First, as the mission was for both Indians and the numerous French fishermen, it would have been near where the French could use it. At *Grande Plaine*, there is no harbour whatever for vessels, but only the open sea, the most exposed of positions, where vessels could lie only in the calmest weather. On the other hand, Miscou harbour is a good harbour for vessels, and has been used by fishermen in great numbers from the earliest times down to the present day. It was while their vessels were at anchor in safety that the sailors could attend a mission. Second, Father Richard in the Relation of 1645, speaks of a sea voyage from Nepisiguit to Miscou, and remarks especially on the danger he met through finding Miscou harbour blocked with ice. Had his destination been the north point of Miscou the blocking of the harbour would not have concerned him so much. If it was on the harbour, however, we do not know its exact site unless it was on the same site as the settlement of Denys, next to be spoken of (map No. 34).¹ This is quite probable, since no other important ancient site is known about this harbour, except, perhaps, *I. au trésor* or Money Island, on which many coins and other relics have been found. The latter may possibly be the *I. a monsieur* of Jumeau's map of 1685. The low shores of this harbour do not offer many favourable

¹ The freshwater springs shown on this map are described by Denys.



sites for settlement, and a good situation is likely to be occupied by many settlements in succession. That this site was on what we now call Shippegan is not the least objection, since, until after 1700, both islands were called Miscou, one the Grande Isle de Miscou, the other Petite Isle de Miscou. The mission had a branch at Nepisiguit and was abandoned about 1662.

C.—Denys' Settlement on Miscou Harbour. Denys, in his work of 1672, tells us with the greatest clearness of his settlement on this harbour, on the south



MAP No. 35. HISTORICAL MAP OF BATHURST HARBOUR.

side, where he had a "habitation" and garden.¹ In another place he speaks of passing through the harbour of Miscou from the eastern entrance and coming to a long point of sand which makes a cove of considerable extent, and there it is that vessels anchor. This must have been either Harper's or Sandy Point (southwest of Harper's), and the inference is that his settlement was near it. The site of Denys' settlement is well known locally, and until a few years ago traces of it could be seen, including the remains of an "old fort," which now are entirely washed away. It was at Peeten Point, in the place marked on map No. 34.² This site has been identified for me by Rev. Father J. R. Doucet, to whom I am indebted for much information upon the history of the island, and it is thus spoken of by Dionne (p. 518):

"On voyait encore sur cette Ile, il n'y a pas plus de 5 ou 6 ans, les ruines de l'habitation et des fortifications anciennes élevés par Denys. Le fort était situé du côté sud du havre de Miscou, vis-à-vis le principal établissement de l'île, occupé il y a plus de deux siècles par les Français, et habité aujourd'hui par un groupe Écossais. L'on peut encore voir le vieux cimetière, sur la propriété d'un nommé John Marks. Les protestants ont construit, à proximité, une église de leur secte."

Passing next to the settlements at Nepisiguit, we find them in the following order.

D.—The Recollet Mission at Nepisiguit. LeClerc states of this place (p. 203): "Les Recollets de la Province d'Aquitaine y ont commencé la Mission en 1620 & le Pere Bernardin, un de ces illustres Missionnaires mourut de faim & de fatigues en traversant les bois pour aller de Miscou & de Nipisiguit à la rivière de Saint Jean, à la Cadie, ou ces Reverends Peres avoient leur établissement principal." As to the site of this mission, we have no hint whatever.

E.—The Jesuit Mission at Nepisiguit. This was established in 1644 as a branch of the mission of Miscou. It is several times referred to in the Relations, but never in a way to locate it. LeClerc states there was a chapel here. Dionne states positively, though without giving any evidence, that this chapel was at Point au Père, and that Denys settled near it. A slender argument for this might be based upon the fact that old plans mark Ferguson's Point, where Denys' settlement later stood, "Point au Père, so called because a French priest is buried there," (Map No. 35), and there is a local tradition, given, however, without qualification by Dionne, that some years ago the remains of priests were removed from this point to the cemetery at Bathurst. Rev. Father Varrily, however, writes me there is no mention of any such removal in the Church records, nor does he know of it. He says, however, there is a tradition that the Jesuit Fathers had some kind of an establishment there. He says further, "It is, however, certain that on the south side of the harbour, at the mouth of the Nepisiguit, there was at the first discovery of the country an Indian settlement, and that a French gentleman named Enaud, who married an Indian, owned property and lived there. This place was visited regularly by the Jesuit fathers established at

¹ The date of the foundation of this settlement is probably fixed by a note in the Journal of the Jesuits of 1632,—"*Monsieur Denys goes to find Monsieur de la Tour, in order to establish himself again towards Miscou.*"

² Many relics have been found on this site. Of these one is a pewter pitcher, having the date 1601, a photograph of which I possess through the kindness of Dr. Philip Cox, of Chatham. It is said locally that the fort stood exactly where Mr. Petrie formerly had his store. (See New Brunswick Magazine, II., 293.)

Miscou." There must be some error in the latter statement, for Enaud, who was living here in 1686, is returned by the Census as 35 years old, and the Miscou Mission was abandoned about 1662. Creuxius' map of 1660 places the settlement west of the Nepisiguit, but this probably has little significance.

F.—Nicolas Denys' Habitation at Nepisiguit. Denys, in his work of 1672, thus writes: "Mon habitation de Nepiguit est sur le bord de ce bassin; à un lieu à la droite de son entrée de basse mer un canot n'en sauroit approcher: c'est où j'ay esté obligé de me retirer après l'incendie de mon Fort de saint Pierre en l'Isle du Cap Breton. Ma maison y est flanquée de quatre petits bastions avec une palissade dont les pieux sont de dix-huits pieds de haut, avec six pieces de canon en batteries.....j'y ay un grand jardin"¹.....This description placing his habitation on the border of the basin a league from the entrance on the right, with great shallows in front, would locate it on Ferguson's point exactly where tradition places it (See Map No. 35). Here many relics of early occupation have been found, cannon balls, gun locks, skeletons (near by), and even quarried stone. The spot where the latter occurred was on the point in a place now washed by the highest tides, and it is probable that here was the habitation and that this site, like so many settlement and fort sites in the province, has been much altered by the action of the waves, allowed by a slow sinking of the coast, which is now going on. Old willow trees on the point are said by tradition to mark the graves of priests and a French admiral.

G.—Enault's Settlement. A number of traditions of Enault (Enault or Enaud) are given by Cooney, which are probably fairly trustworthy, except as to dates. The census of 1686 returns Enaud as living at Nepisiguit. Cooney says that he lived at Abshaboo or Coal Point, at the mouth of the Nepisiguit, where Packard's hotel is, and that he had his principal establishment where Mr. DeBlois has his. Coal Point is a corruption of Gould's Point,² by which the high point on the west side of the mouth of the Nepisiguit is known on many early plans. Packard's Hotel, a stone building, still stands at the corner of Black and St. Patrick streets in Bathurst, while DeBlois' establishment was near by on Gayton's wharf, near the foot of St. Patrick street.³ Certainly this would seem to be the most favourable place around the harbour for a trading establishment; it is on high land at the mouth of a river much used by the Indians as a highway to the hunting grounds of the interior, and as a through route of travel to other rivers. If Enaud, or a predecessor⁴ was in possession of this point when Denys arrived, it would explain why Denys chose what seems to us in all ways the much less favourable situation at Ferguson's Point. Cooney states also that Enaud had a large grist mill on the stream running through the marsh now owned by Mr. DeBlois, which stream, as Dr. Duncan tells me, is that now

LeClerc (24) speaking of Denys' habitation as he saw it in 1675, says "L'Habitation de Monsieur Denys.....qui étoit très bien logé, sur le bord d'un bassin vulgairement appelé la Petite rivière, séparé de la mer par un belle langue de terre, qui par l'agrément merveilleux qu'elle donne à ce lieu le rend un séjour fort agréable." This mention of Little River might lead one to suppose it was on the border of the present river of that name, west and southwest of Bathurst, but such a supposition would by no means fit with the other facts we have. It is just possible the Tetongouche was the *Petite Rivière* at that time.

² Accidentally misspelled *Gould's* on Map No. 35.

³ For these facts I am indebted to Dr. G. M. Duncan, of Bathurst.

⁴ It is possible there were two men of this name at Nepisiguit, father and son. Cooney mentions Jean Jacques Enaud, while Phillipes Enault, Sieur de Barbaucannes, is mentioned by LeClercq, and he is mentioned as receiving a grant at Pokemouche in 1693.

known as Eddy's stream (Map No. 35), and he adds further that the stones of the mill were found not long ago on this stream. A fact which has an important bearing upon the site of Enaud's settlement is, however, this, that a point on the harbour is still called, locally, by his name, Point Enaud, though on the chart it is called Daly's Point. This persistence of his name must indicate very close connection between him and this locality.

Enault is mentioned by LeClercq with much praise. They went together in winter from Nepisiguit to Richard Denys' settlement at Miramichi, nearly perishing on the road.

It is probable that from the time of Denys onward there were Acadian settlers about this harbour in small numbers, and that in common with other desirable locations on the north shore it received large additions to their numbers after 1750, and still more after the expulsion. In 1761 Captain Mackenzie was sent to remove them, and took prisoners there, no less than 787 (Archives, 1804, 229).² The registers at Caraquette, according to Mr. Gaudet, show there was a number of settlers here in 1772, and these settlers no doubt took up lands which were afterwards granted to them. It is thus hardly possible to assign any date to the foundation of St. Peters, as it was called until 1826, when it was named Bathurst by Sir Howard Douglas.

The later history of Acadian settlements in this region was no doubt very similar. Thus, Caraquette was granted in 1784 to 34 Acadians who had doubtless been some time on the lands. Tracadie was first settled, according to M. Gaudet in 1785, and Pokemouche and Petit Rocher both in 1797.

7. Restigouche District.

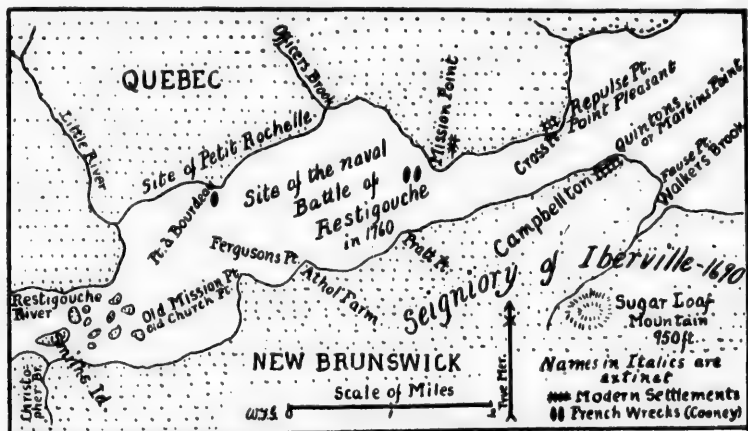
So far as I have been able to find, there are in this district no records of French settlements, other than the French mission to the Indians, before 1700. The Recollet Mission was at Old Mission Point, as already discussed. After 1750 the settlers came to this region in considerable numbers and founded the town of *Petit Rochelle*, on the Quebec side, protected by batteries at Point LeGarde and Battery Point. It was in the basin above Mission Point that the battle was fought between an English squadron, under Captain Byron, and a French squadron, which resulted in the destruction of the latter and of *Petit Rochelle* and the batteries. A very interesting memorial of this event is on the French chart of Restigouche of 1779, copied from an earlier English one, which gives the names of all Byron's ships to different points and shoals along the river. Cooney gives the official accounts of this battle, and it has

¹ Dionne thus speaks of him, "Quant à Philippe Enault de Barbaucannes, qui après la révocation de la concession faite à Denys en 1654, obtint le fief de la rivière de Nipisiguit, contenant six milles carrés, il se construisit une maison du côté sud du havre vis-à-vis la Pointe-aux-Pères. L'emplacement de cette résidence se trouvait environ cinq cents pas de la côte sur la terre qui a autrefois appartenu à Andrew Ramesay un peu plus d'un mille à l'est des scieries à vapeur du St. Lawrence Lumber Co. Enault avait un moulin à farine près de la côte sur le ruisseau qui traverse la terre de John Miller à un quart de mille des susdites scieries." Dr. Dionne considers that Cooney was mistaken in locating the settlement where he does. I do not think Enaud had a seigniory at Nepisiguit, as there is no mention of it in the documents of the time, but he had one at Pokemouche. (See later under Seigniories.

² Also mentioned in Smethurst's Narrative.

been treated fully in the Educational Review, X., 1897, 194. The site of Petit Rochelle is well known locally; it extended from Officers Brook upwards for some three miles, and many relics of French occupation have been found here. (Map No. 36.) Cooney states there was a French village at Martins Point, near the site of Campbellton, and he gives many facts and traditions as to French relics found in this region (213-218).

At the mouth of Jacquet River, and doubtless of other rivers on the North Shore, are small pieces of marsh which seem to have been dyked;



MAP NO. 36. HISTORICAL MAP OF RESTIGOUCHE.

and these dykes are taken locally to be evidence of early Acadian settlements. Such dykes, however, are known to geologists to be often the result of purely natural causes (Chalmers, Geological Reports, 1895, M, 133), and hence do not prove the existence of former settlements unless certainly artificial.

2. SEIGNIORIES.

An interesting chapter in the history of the Acadian period in New Brunswick is that which relates to the effort of the French Government to settle it upon the Seigniorial system. The subject has, however, received but little attention from our historians, no doubt because it was a failure and produced no effect whatever upon later settlement. Not a single one of the many seigniorial grants made in New Brunswick survived the Acadian period itself, much less did they extend into the later periods, and not a foot of land is held to-day in New Brunswick, nor has been held since 1755, by descent from a seigniorial title. This extensive attempt was there-

fore another of those barren branches of which history has so many, one whose interest must be chiefly sentimental, and whose details may be omitted altogether in any work which attempts to follow the line of evolution of present-day conditions.

It is of course entirely outside the scope and limits of the present work to discuss the history of the seigniorial system and of the New Brunswick seigniories; properly we are concerned here only with their locations. A copious literature upon the subject arose in connection with the discussions leading to the buying out of the rights of the Seigniors of the Province of Quebec by the Quebec Government in 1854, and there are many easily-obtainable reports printed at that time in both English and French, some of which contain valuable reprints of the Acadian seigniorial grants. Particularly valuable upon the historical aspects of the subject is "The Seigniorial Tenure in Canada and Plan of Commutation," by J. C. Taché, Quebec, 1854. The general subject is treated in synopsis in vol. iii. of the recently issued "Canada, An Encyclopedia," to which the reader interested in the subject will do well to turn. There is also a "Histoire du droit Canadien" (Montreal, 1888), dealing with this subject, but I have not seen it. I shall here give but a few leading facts connected with the origin and fate of Acadian Seigniories.

A seigniorial grant gave to the Seignior and his heirs forever the title to their lands, with the right of fishing, hunting, trading and the administration of justice to their tenants, and they had to render homage to the representatives of the King at Quebec at stated periods. They were required to settle colonists upon their lands within a fixed time and in certain numbers, to keep rivers open for navigation, to open highways, and to observe other legal conditions. In addition to the seigniorial grants, usually very extensive, there were other property grants, giving the grantee the right to farm, hunt, trade, etc., but no rights of justice over tenants. Of the latter sort were the small grants of Meusnier at Magaguadavic and Des Grez at Pokemouche later to be spoken of; while all of the remainder of the grants in New Brunswick were true seigniories.

In 1627 Louis XIII. granted all New France in fief and seigniority to the Company of New France, which resigned its rights in 1663, and between those dates the Seigniories were granted by the Company. In 1664 Louis XIV. granted all his land in America to the Company of the West Indies, but their rights reverted to the Crown in 1674, after which date all seigniories were granted by the representatives of the King at Quebec, the Governor and Intendant, and were later confirmed by the King himself. This original grant by the authorities at Quebec, and its later confirmation by the King, gave origin to two distinct documents describing each grant, and as these by no means always agree in details, much confusion has arisen in connection with some of them; and thus are explained the discrepancies in different records describing the same seigniority.

The first great grant in New Brunswick was that to DeRazilly at St. Croix in 1632, then followed that to LaTour on the St. John in 1635, that of 1636 and 1653 to Denys, including all the North Shore, and that to LaTour, Temple and Crowne in 1656. But in 1672 began the series of seigniorial grants in New Brunswick, whose locations are described in the following pages. The last of these, excepting that of St. Pierre, which was on a somewhat different basis, was made in 1700. They were some thirty-five in number, covering some of the best lands and the localities best situated for fishing and trade in the Province. In the great majority of cases, however, no attempt whatever appears to have been made by the Seigniors to fulfil the conditions and settle upon them, in which respect they were in remarkable contrast to those of Quebec. At Passamaquoddy there is evidence from the censuses and other sources that St. Aubin, Chartier and Meusnier settled upon their grants; on the St. John the two brothers D'Amours, the Sieurs de Freneuse and Clignancourt, later joined by their brother Sieur de Chauffours, made more or less successful attempts at settlement, as did Martignon, Soulanges and possibly Breuil and Gautier, but there is no evidence that any of the other Seigniors ever even saw their grants. At the head of the Bay of Fundy, La Vallière had a seigniority on which many colonists from Port Royal settled as his tenants, and thus he established by far the most important seigniority in the present Province of New Brunswick, and one that came the nearest to the ideal for which the seigniorial system was established. It is possible, that, had it not been for the troublous times in that region after 1750, ending with the expulsion in 1755, the heirs of La Vallière might have held lands under his title to this day. Along the Richibucto coast Sieur de Chauffours had formed a settlement before his grant was passed, but later he abandoned it to join his brothers on the St. John. At Miramichi Richard Denys de Fronsac made a settlement, but Enault, though he had a seigniority at Pokemouche, lived on lands belonging to Gobin at Nepisiguit, and De Grez, after making some settlement at Pokemouche, deserted to the English. The attempts at settlement, therefore, were altogether insignificant in comparison with the number and extent of the seigniorial grants. After 1700 there is, with the single exception of La Vallière, hardly a trace of any of the Seigniors to be found. In 1704 Colonel Church ravaged Passamaquoddy and the Seigniors are never heard of again in the region, and probably the destruction of the settlements along the river by the English expedition against Fort Nashwaak in 1696,¹ had something to do with the abandonment of the St. John. As for those on the North Shore, Seigniors and Seigniories alike fade away into obscurity and leave scarcely a trace. It is said by Murdoch that most of the Seigniors left the country after Nicholson's conquest (1710), and no doubt most of them went to Quebec where some of them were later granted seigniories in that Province. Even had they

¹ That at Jemseg was not destroyed, and Gyles in his narrative tells us why.

not been abandoned by their owners, most of the seigniories, perhaps all except La Vallière's, would have been forfeited for non-fulfilment of conditions. In 1699 the King decreed that since many of the Seigniors had not complied with conditions, they must send copies of their grants to him, and in 1703 a royal decree was passed which must have annulled most of the grants in what is now New Brunswick. After 1713 both English and French claimed the territory now known as New Brunswick. In 1718 Father Loyard was empowered to grant lands on the St. John to Acadians, but we do not know to what extent it was done. In 1734 the Lords of Trade wrote from Whitehall concerning seigniories in Nova Scotia, that all Seigniors who remained in the Province at the treaty of Utrecht (1713) and owned allegiance to Great Britain, could keep what they were legally possessed of before that time, but those who had left the Province and since returned could have no such rights. In 1743 the King of France decreed that all lands unsettled should revert to the Crown. In 1759 the Nova Scotia Legislature passed an act to the effect that any action to recover lands based on a French title should be dismissed. The final disappearance from history of the New Brunswick seigniories does not, however, come until the middle of the last century, when the brothers and sister Rey-Gaillard, heirs of Denys de Fronsac, claimed the seigniories formerly held by him, including his own of Miramichi and those of Nepisiguit and Restigouche, acquired by him from Gobin and Iberville, and attempted to collect rents from the fishermen and traders resorting there. Finally they sold their rights to a Mr. Bondfield of Quebec, who in 1764 claimed these lands from the Nova Scotia Government,¹ but was referred to the ordinance of 1759, with which the matter ended, and the last vestige of the seigniorial tenure in New Brunswick vanished.

The location of the majority of the seigniories is so fully described in the grants, there can be little doubt as to their position, and they are laid down on the accompanying map No. 39, in which dotted lines are used wherever boundaries are doubtful. The names of seigniories are in heavy square letters. The accuracy with which the bounds are described shows that they must have been granted from the descriptions of those who knew the localities, for the descriptions are far in advance of the general geographical knowledge of the times. There is no map of the entire Acadian period which shows the St. John river with any approach to the completeness and accuracy of geography displayed in the wording of the grants.

It is a matter much to be regretted that the names of the seigniories have all become extinct, for many of them are vastly finer names than many which have succeeded them. It would be an excellent plan as new names are needed for settlements or parishes to revive these old names, pleasing as they are, and connected with our early history. It would, of

¹ Murdoch, II., 441.

course, be best to apply them to localities near to where they originally belonged, and their location may easily be found by comparing the accompanying map No. 39 with a good modern map. About Passamaquoddy there are thus available *Razilly, St. Aubin, Chartier* and *Perigny*; on the St. John, are *Clignancourt* (or in its early English form, *Cleancore*) *Bellefond, Vitrenard, Soulanges, Freneuse, St. Denis, Marson* (another title for Soulanges), *La Tour, St. Castin, Valence, Martignon, Breuil, Plenne*, and *Joibert*; at the head of the Bay of Fundy are *La Vallière* and *Villieu*; on the North Shore, *Denys, St. Paul, Linoville, Daplessis* and *Chauffours*; at Miramichi is *Fronsac*, and in Gloucester, *Enault* (or *Enaud*) and *Gobin*, and at Restigouche *Iberville*. Such names are surely vastly to be preferred to the very trivial ones so often given to our new settlements.

I think it probable the following list contains nearly all, perhaps all, of the seigniorial grants made in New Brunswick, but of many of them the printed records are very scanty, and in others the different versions differ considerably, especially in the spelling of the place-names. It is therefore very desirable that a full collection of them should be made from the original documents, and when possible, from the original registers at Quebec. This will be the more profitable since the grants already published in full often contain valuable incidental references to local history, which leads us to believe that those published only in part may in the complete original also contain important items.

The published descriptions of seigniories occur in the following works: First, in the Memorials of the English and French Commissaries of 1755 (cited in the following list as *Mem.*), in which some of our most important ones are published in full. Second, in various documents issued by the Quebec Government in 1852-54. The principal one of these is "Titles and Documents relating to the Seigniorial tenure in return to an address of the Legislative Assembly," 1851, Quebec, 1852 (cited as *Leg.*) The "Return to an address of the Legislative Assembly for copies of certain Seigniorial Documents 1853," contains many confirmations of Acadian Seigniories given in full. There is also a valuable Legislative document of 1807 or 1808 with titles in brief. There are several others in the "Manuscrits relatif à L'histoire de La Nouvelle France" (cited as *Docs.*) published by the Quebec Government; but this work contains many misprints, and the copies in the Ben Perley Poore collection in the Massachusetts State House are more accurate, though of course even these are copies of the originals in Paris. Murdoch's Nova Scotia also contains translations of parts of many of the grants.

In the following list the limits of space allowable have made it necessary to give only the description of the location of the grants, in selecting which from the several versions, often differing considerably from one another, I have chosen that which seemed to me to be most trustworthy, i.e. derived most directly and with most care from the original

documents, and I have quoted this exactly just as printed, whether in English or French. All of those in English are either from Murdoch or from the Legislative document of 1852. All are shown on the accompanying map No. 39.

1. *The Passamaquoddy District.*

The Seigniories of this region have been described and discussed in the "Courier Series," and in the pamphlet abstract of this, printed but not yet published.

At Indian Island one LaTreille lived at the time of Church's expedition of 1704, but no grant to him is known. The Hutchinson papers of 1688 (Collections Mass. Hist. Soc., 3rd ser., I., 82) mention a grant to one Zorzy [De Soreis] at St. Croix, but nothing further is known of it.

1632—Sainte Croix. To M. le Commandeur de Razilly, Lieutenant Général pour le Roi en la Nouvelle France. (19th of May, from La Compagnie de la Nouvelle France.)

"L'étendue des terres & pays que ensuivent, à sçavoir la rivière & baie Sainte-Croix, isles y contenues, & terres adjacentes d'une part & d'autre en la Nouvelle France, de l'étendue de douze lieues de larges, à prendre le point milieu en l'isle Sainte-Croix, ou le Sieur de Mons a hiverné, & vingt lieues de profondeur depuis le port aux coquilles, qui est en l'une des isles de l'entrée de la rivière & baie Sainte-Croix, chaque lieues de quatre mille toises de long." (Mem. 707.)

The limits of this grant are plain (see map No. 39).

Port aux Coquilles is known to be Head Harbor, Campobello.

1684—Passamaquoddy. To Jean Sarrean de St. Aubin. (On June 23th.)

"Five leagues in front, on the sea shore, and five leagues in depth inland at a place called Pascomady, and its environs, with the isles and islets in front of that extent, also an islet of rocks about six leagues off for seal fishery, also the island called Archimagan, and the islets for two leagues round it." (Murdoch, I., 163.)

The description is not full enough to locate this seigniority exactly. It is possible that it included Campobello, and the ruined building shown on Windmill Point in DesBarres' picture of Campobello of 1777 may represent his dwelling, which, like those of other seigniors of the time, was probably a "Habitation," i. e., a dwelling surrounded by a stockade. It is much more probable, however, that the "Fort" mentioned at Pleasant Point (see earlier, Settlements) by Morris was the remains of St. Aubin's Habitation. If, however, the Gourdon mentioned by Church was found on the site of St. Andrews in 1704 and was really St. Aubin, it would perhaps show that his dwelling was there, which would be supported by the fact that Chartier's grant, including without doubt the falls at St. Stephen, is described as bordering upon St. Aubin's grant. Archimagan was an island near what is now Edgemoragan Reach, at the mouth of the Penobscot, and St. Aubin's sons resided there.

1691—Magaguadavic. To Jean Meusnier, habitant de l'Acadie. (July 16th.)

"Two leagues in front by two leagues in depth, on the small river which the Indians call Maricadécouy, to wit: one league in front on each side of the

said river, opposite to each other, the said two leagues of land in front and two leagues in depth to be taken in the unconceded lands at a distance of about five leagues below Pesmoucadé, running towards the north-east." (Leg. 121.)

This grant, not a grant in seigniory, but an ordinary grant "en censive," cannot be located more definitely than that it probably included the mouth of the Magaguadavic. The grant mentions that his former property had been plundered and burnt by the British, and a new grant is made to enable him to settle in a safer place. The basin at the Falls, at St. George, where there is fertile land, grand fishing, and the head of navigation, would be a most likely place for his residence.

1693—Grand Manan. To Paul Dailleboust, Ecuyer, Sieur de Perigny (or Persigny). (April 14.)

"The said island of *Grand Menane*, together with the islands, islets and beaches which may be found lying around and near the same." (Leg. 134.)

The location of this Seigniory is perfectly clear (see map No. 39).

1695—Scoodic. To Sieur Michel Chartier, habitant de l'Acadie. (July 8, confirmed May 19, 1696.)

"D'une demy lieue de front de chaque costé de la rivière d'Escoudet sur une lieue et demye de profondeur à commencer du costé du sud ouest à la terre du dit Sieur St. Aubin en descendant la dite rivière, et du costé du N. E. aux terres non concédées, vis-a-vis la concession du Sr. de Bourchemin, sur la rivière de la Oumasca. (Docs. II., 224. Also Leg. 154, Murdoch, I., 224.)

The location of this seigniory is fairly plain. Church, in 1704, found one Sharkee, of course Chartier, settled on or near the site of St. Stephen, on the Scoodic, which was doubtless the centre of his Seigniory.

In 1696 Michel Chartier leased the Seigniory of Freneuse from its owner, Mathieu D'Amours. (See later.)

The Seigniories of Thibaudeau, 1695, and of Villeclair, 1697, and Kouéanoukek (Lefebvre), 1703, and Grand Champ, 1708, were in Maine, towards Mount Desert.

2. The St. John District.

No systematic account of the Seigniories of the St. John has yet been published, though many references to them occur scattered through the writings of Hannay, Raymond and others. Most prominent of the Seigniors of this valley were the brothers D'Amours, of whom an account is given by Hannay in the *New Brunswick Magazine*, I., 25.

1635—Mouth of the St. John. To Charles de Saint-Etienne, Sieur de la Tour, (Jan. 15, by La Compagnie de la Nouvelle France.)

"Le fort & habitation de la Tour, situé en la Rivière Sainte Jean en la Nouvelle-France, entre les 45 & 46, degrés de latitude, ensemble des terres prochainement adjacentes à icelui dans l'étendue de cinq lieues au dessous le long de ladite rivière, sur dix lieues de profondeur dans les terres." (Mem.)

The location of this grant is fairly plain. It probably covered both sides of the mouth of the river. It was, of course, later superseded by other grants. It is no doubt that mentioned by Murdoch (I., 79), as obtained from the French King in 1627.

1656—Coasts of Acadia. *To le Seigneur de Saint-Etienne, Sieur de la Tour, baron d'Ecosse, Thomas Temple & Guillaume Crowne, Chevaliers.*

"Le pays & territoire appelé l'Acadie, & partie du pays nommé la Nouvelle Ecosse, . . . les côtes jusqu'au fond de la Baie; & de là, rangeant ladite Baie jusqu'au fort Saint-Jean; & de là, rangeant toute la côte jusqu'à Pentagoet . . . & en dedans les terres tout le long desdites côtes jusqu'à cent lieues de profondeur." (Mem.)

This enormous grant can readily be located from the description. It is shown plainly on a map in Winsor's "America," V., 478.

1672—West Side of the Mouth of the St. John. *To Martin D'Arpentigny, Sieur de Martignon.* (Oct. 17th.)

"The tract of country and lands which are to be found on the said River St. John, to be taken along the said River from Partridge Island (*l'Isle de la Perdrix*), running six leagues in front up the said river, and six leagues in depth inland, bounded in front by the said River St. John, and in rear, towards the west, by the ungranted lands, on one side by the said Island, and on the other by the ungranted lands." (Leg.)

The location of this Seigniory is plain. (See map No. 39, also 37.) On the Franquet map of 1707 (in Marcel's Atlas) *Fort de Martignon* is marked on the west side of the harbour, and *Fort La Tour* on the east. In the census of 1686 his name is spelled *Aprendistigué*. The document states that he intends to bring over men from France to settle his land. In a French copy of this grant he is spoken of as "ancien habitant du pays de l'Acadie," and also as "Gouverneur et propriétaire de la Rivière St. Jean depuis la Rivière de Maquo jusqu'aux mines aux dit pais de l'Acadie . . . plus de 50 lieues de front."

This doubtless indicates a grant, now unknown, from his father-in-law, *La Tour*. Its location would seem plain;—*R. de Maquo* is probably *Maquapit*, and *les Mines* the mines at Newcastle, thus placing it along the north shore of Grand Lake, though I cannot explain the 50 leagues of length. (Map No. 39.)

1672—Long Reach. *To Jacques Pottier, Sieur de St. Denis.* (Oct. 18.)

"An extent of two leagues in front, to be taken above the grant made to the Sieur de Martignon, and bounded on the other side by the ungranted lands." (Leg.)

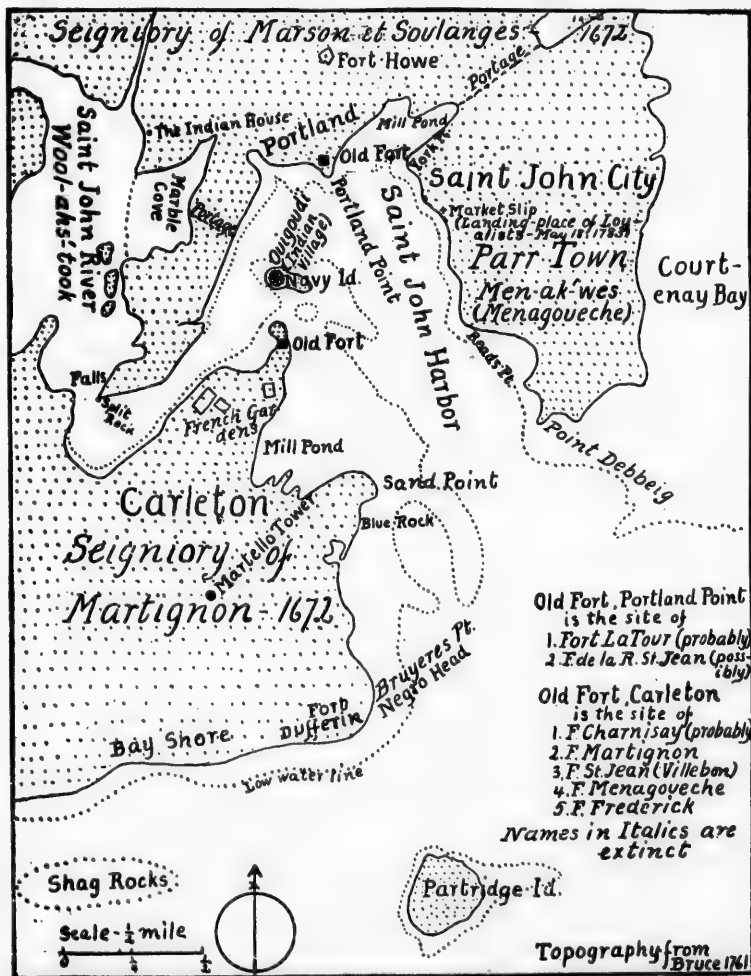
Its location is plain. (See map No. 39.)

1672—East Side of the Mouth of the St. John. *To [Pierre de Joibert] Sieur de Marson [et] de Soulanges.* (Oct. 20th.)

"A tract of land of four leagues in front by one league in depth, to be taken on the east side of the said River St. John, bounded on one side by the basin of the said river and on the other by the ungranted lands (together with the house of *Fort Gemeziz*, which he shall enjoy for such time only as he shall hold his commission of commander on the said river, in order to give him a place of residence, that he may act with more liberty and convenience in everything relating to the King's service)." (Leg.)

That this seigniory was at the mouth of the river is shown by the fact that the one granted his brother on the same date adjoined it and bordered on the sea, and it therefore occupied the position assigned to it on the map No. 39. That *Jemseg Fort* was allowed him as a residence seems to show that there was no residence for him at St. John. *Martignon*, of course,

occupied the fort at Carleton built by Charnisy. Yet in both his grants of 1676 Marson is spoken of as "Commandant of the Forts of Jemseg and the River St. John," implying that there was somewhere a fort of the River St. John, but not in condition to be occupied. This would fit perfectly with the theory given earlier that Fort LaTour, destroyed by Charnisy, stood at Portland Point on his Seigniori, (Map No. 37.)



MAP NO. 37. HISTORICAL MAP OF ST. JOHN AND SURROUNDINGS.

1672—St. John Harbour. *To Sieur de Joibert. (Oct. 20.)*

"The extent of one league of land in front, by one league in depth, to be taken on the east side of the River St. John, in the said country of Acadia, adjoining on the one side the grant made to the Sieur de Marson, his brother, commanding at the said place, and on the other side the ungranted lands, bounded in front by the sea, and in rear by the ungranted lands." (Leg.)

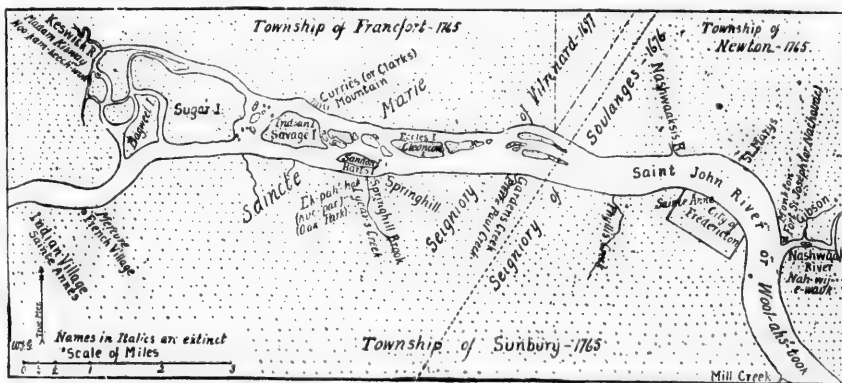
The expression "bounded in front by the sea" would locate it somewhat as on our map No. 39.

1676—Nashwaak. *To Pierre de Joibert, Ecuyer, Sieur de Soulanges & de Marson. (Oct. 12).*

"Le lieu appellé Nachouac & que l'on appellera à l'avenir Soulanges, sur ladite rivière Saint Jean, à quinze lieues du Gemisik, contenant deux lieues de front de chaque côté sur ladite rivière, & deux lieues de profondeur dans les terres, aussi de chaque côté, ensemble les isles & islets qui sont dans ladite rivière au devant desdites lieues de front." (Mem. 744.)

The location is undoubtable; it is shown on Map No. 39, also 38.

It is stated in the grant that it is made in consideration of services he



MAP No. 38. HISTORICAL MAP OF THE VICINITY OF FREDERICTON.

had rendered, and with the wish to engage him to continue them, and that it is made so large because so little of it is cultivable.

1676—Fort Jemseg. *To Pierre de Joibert, Ecuyer, Sieur de Soulanges et de Marson. (Oct. 16).*

"Ledit fort de Gemisik, avec une lieue de chaque côté dudit fort, faisant deux lieues de front, la devanture de la rivière, & les isles & islets qui y sont, & deux lieues de profondeur dans les terres, avec le droit de chasse & de pêche dans l'étendue desdits lieux." (Mem. 746).

There can be no doubt as to the location of this Seigniory; it is shown on Map No. 39.

About 1690 this Seigniory had passed to the Sieur de Chauffours. This is shown by two facts: first, the grant to the widow of the Sieur de Marson, given below, in 1691 mentions the "concession de Sieur de Chauffour, nommé Jemseg," and, second, John Gyles shows in his narrative that he was living here in 1696. Whether he obtained it by purchase or a re-grant, as the

Sec. II., 1899. 21.

term concession would imply, we do not know. Curiously enough, the Morris Map of 1758 marks *Chofour* as a village just below the present Gagetown. Le Sieur de Soulanges had for four years been commander of this fort and that "of the River St. John." In 1674 the fort, which he had repaired, had been destroyed by the Hollanders, and was repaired by him at his own expense. As a recompense, the proprietorship of the fort was given to him. See his grants of 1672.

He afterwards, in 1702, was granted the Seigniorship of Soulanges in Quebec. (Archives, 1884, 26). In one document Soulanges is spoken of as "Lieutenant of the Company of Infantry of Grand Fontaine, in the regiment of *Poitou*, and Major of Acadia; has rendered good and praiseworthy services in divers places both in Old and New France."

In 1682 the King granted to Sieurs Bergier, Gautier, Boucher, and De Mantes lands on the St. John for a fishery, but they appear not to have been taken up. It is, however, to be noted that on the Morris Map of 1758 the Belleisle is called *R. au Gautier*.

1684—The St. John, near Meductic. *René d'Amours, Ecuyer, Sieur de Clignancourt.* (Sept. 20, confirmed May 27, 1689).

"Ce qui se rencontre de terre non concédée ni habitée le long de ladite rivière Saint Jean, depuis ledit lieu de Medoctet, icellui comprise, jusques au long saut qui se trouve en remontrant ladite rivière Saint Jean, icelle comprise, avec les isles & islets qui se rencontreront dans cet espace, & deux lieues de profondeur de chaque côté de ladite rivière Saint Jean.lequel fief & seigneurie portera le nom de Clignancourt." (Mem.)

The description does not make the location of the Seigniorship plain, though it evidently extended from Fort Meductic either down the river to the Meductic Falls, or else upwards to Grand Falls. Several students have taken the former view, including Rev. W. O. Raymond, but I have inclined to the latter, chiefly because the description seems to imply that it ran up the river from Meductic, and also because the expression "long saut" seems to apply much better to Grand Falls than to the Meductic Falls, which are really but a rapid. Moreover, the stretch of river from Meductic Falls to Meductic contains much poor land, which Clignancourt, well acquainted with the river, would be unlikely to choose. Against my view is only the immense extent of the seigniorship, which would thus be much the largest on the river, but not after all much larger than that granted his brother at Richibucto. The authorities may, however, well have been ignorant of its extent. Early maps place the Meductic River wrongly emptying into the Long Reach, and Perley has supposed this seigniorship extended thence to the Falls at St. John, but this is impossible for many reasons.

Though his seigniorship was near Meductic, and he occasionally visited Meductic as Gyles' narrative shows, his residence appears to have been on Eccles Island below Springhill (See Map No. 38), for the census of 1696 returns him as living at Auepac, and this island on all early maps is called *Cleconcore*, which seems plainly enough a corruption of his name.

1684.—Nashwaak to Jemseg. *To Mathieu d'Amours, Ecuyer, Sieur de Freneuse.* (Sept. 20, confirmed March 1, 1693).

"Des terres non concédées ni habitées le long de la rivière de Saint-Jean, entre les lieux de Gemisik & de Nachouac, sur deux lieues de profondeur de chaque côté de la rivière Saint-Jean, icelle comprise, avec les isles & islets qui se rencontrent dans cet espace, ensemble la rivière du Kamouac-

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MAP OF THE PROVINCE OF

NEW BRUNSWICK

in the Exploration and Acadian Periods

- Settlements and Forts. Seigniories.
- Underlined names are of the Exploration Period.
- Names in italics are now extinct.

Scale of miles

W. J. G.
Jan 77

ACADIAN PERIODS.

tu [Ramouctou] autant que ladite profondeur de deux lieues s'étendra." (Mem.)

The location of this seigniory is beyond doubt, and is given on Map No. 39. The probable site of the residence of Sieur de Freneuse has already been discussed.

There is a very confusing error in reference to this grant in the "Memorials" where it is called the confirmation of the preceding (that to René d'Amours) whereas it has nothing to do with the latter.

In 1696 the Sieur de Freneuse, as the original document now in my possession shows, leased his Seigniory for five years to Michel Chartier. It is described in part as follows: "Le Manoir Seigneurial de la dite Seigneurie de Freneuse consistant en trente arpents ou environ de terre labourable à la charrue, près, bois en haut futoye et taillie avec les maisons granges et estables qui sont dessus, etc." Freneuse was killed the same year at Fort Nashwaak. Michel Chartier was perhaps the same who the previous year received the Seigniory of Scoodic.

1689—Kennebecasis. To Pierre Chesnet, *Ecuyer, Sieur de Breuil (or Dubreuil)* (Jan. 7.)

"Deux lieues de front le long de la rivière Saint-Jean, dans le lieu appelé par les Sauvages Kanibecachiche & petit Nakchouac, scavoir, une lieue d'un côté & une lieue de l'autre, ledit petit Nakchouac faisant le milieu de ladite concession, avec les isles & islets qui se trouveront au devant, & trois lieues de profondeur." (Mem. 769; Leg. 102.)

The location is plain; it is shown on map No. 39. Petit Nakchouac is known to have been Hammond River. On Morris' map of 1758, the Kennebecasis is called "La Rivière de Bruhl," seeming to show he had made some attempt to settle his seigniory. Probably, however, the later occurrence of a "French Village" on his land is but a coincidence, as already shown.

1689—Below Jemseg. To Sieur Vincent de St. Castin. (Oct. 14.)

"Lesdits 2 lieues de front à prendre en terres non concédées le long de la rivière St. Jean, joignant les terres de Jemesec . . . sur pareille profondeur de 2 lieues." (Leg. 115.)

Since all of the lands above Jemseg had been granted, this must have been just below the Jemseg Seigniory, as shown on map No. 39.

1690—On River St. John. To Sieur Jean de Valence. (Confirmed Mar. 16, 1691.)

"D'une estendue de terre à la rivière St. Jean." (Docs. II., p. 40.)

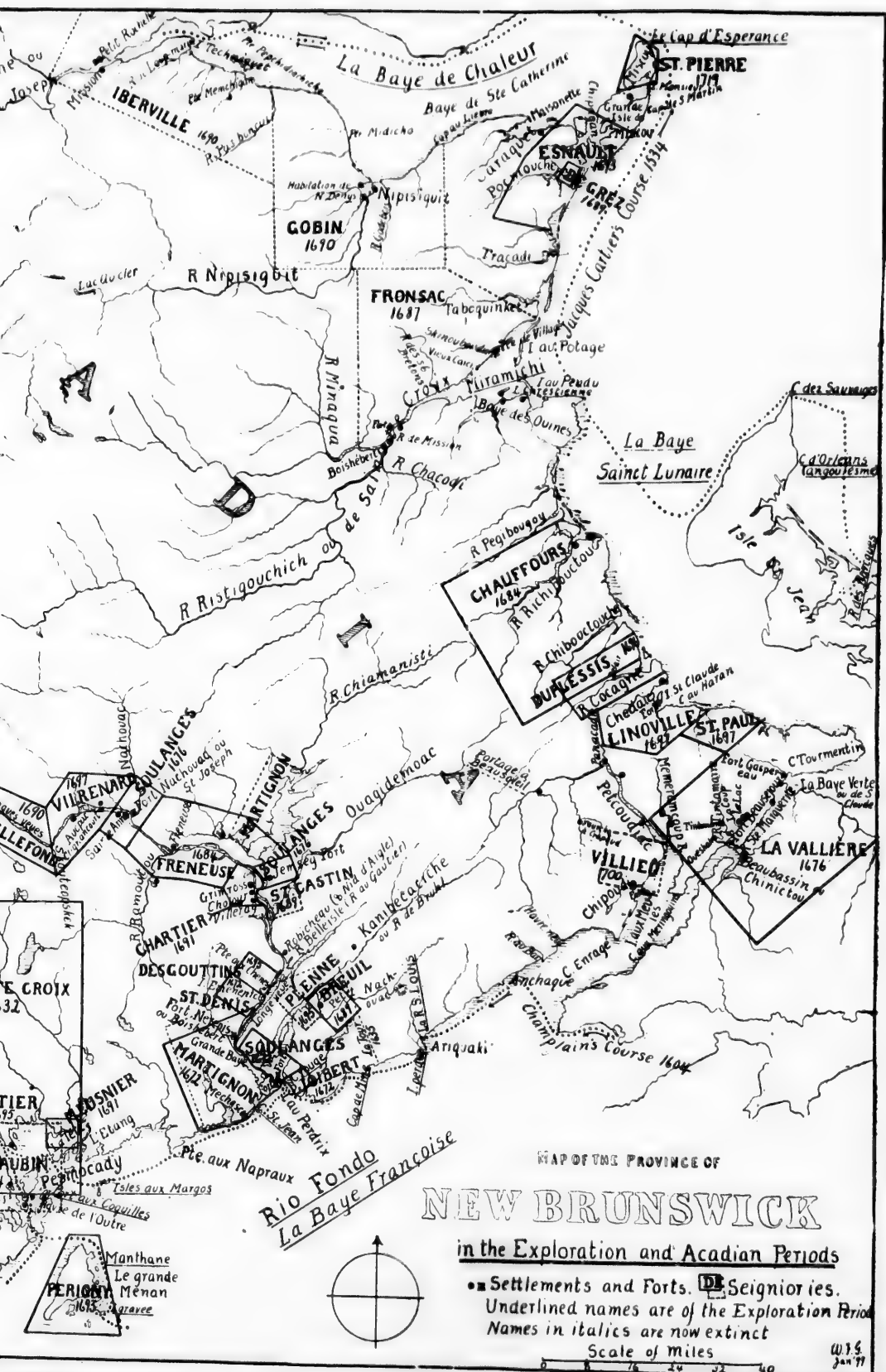
We have no hint as to the location of this Seigniory. It is the only one not on map No. 39.

1690—Nacawicac to Long's Creek. To Sieur François Genaple de Bellefond. (Feb. 25; confirmed Mar. 16, 1691.)

"Une espace de terres scituée à la rivière St. Jean, pais de l'Acadie, entre Madoktek et Nacchouak, qui joint à la terre de Gemezek, contenant l'espace de terre sur le lieu appelé les longues veues commençant à la rivière appelée Skooleopskek jusques au lieu et rivière appelée Nerkoioioiquek, sur deux lieues de profondeur dans lesdits terres, d'un côté et d'autre ladite rivière St. Jean; ensemble les isles et islets qui sont dans ledit espace."¹ (Doc. II., 39; Leg. 116; Murdoch I., 198.)

¹ Spelling of proper names is taken from the copy in the Ben. Perley Poore Documents in the Massachusetts State House. Many of the Quebec Documents are copied from this collection, but it has been badly done and many errors have been introduced.





NEW BRUNSWICK IN THE EXPLORATION AND ACADIAN PERIODS.

Though the different copies of this grant differ considerably in the spelling of the place names, there can be no doubt as to the location of the Seigniory, which is shown on map No. 39.

The *longues veues* is still called the "Upper Reach," i. e., Upper Long Reach; Nerkoioioiquek is Nacawicac, and Skooleopskek (i. e., Skooteopskek) is known to be Long's Creek. De Bellefond was Notary Royal at Quebec, and probably did not attempt to settle his grant.

1691—At Gagetown. To *Dame Marie François Chartier, veuve du Sieur de Marson*. (Mar. 23; confirmed Mar. 1, 1693.)

"Une terre à la rivière St. Jean, à l'Acadie, de quatre lieues de front sur ladite rivière, de deux lieues de profondeur de l'autre côté, et vis-à-vis la concession du Sieur de Chauffour, nommée Jemsec, le milieu desquelles quatre lieues sera vis-à-vis la maison de Jemsec." (Doc. II., 113; Leg. 120; Murdoch, I., 199.)

There can be no doubt as to its location; it is given on map No. 39. It included the present site of Gagetown.

1695—Kennebecasis. To *Sieur Bernard D'Amours, Ecyr*. [*Sieur de Plenne*]. (June 20, confirmed 1696).

"La rivière Canibeachice affluent dans la rivière St. Jean à l'Acadie et d'une lieue et demie de chaque côté sur deux de profondeur. (Doc. II., 224; Leg. 151.)

Only an approximate location can be given for this Seigniory, since we do not know how far up the river the grant was taken.

1695—Oak Point. To *Sieur des Gouttins (or De Goutin)*. (June 20, confirmed 1696).

"Lieu nommé la Pointe aux Chenes située à la rivière St. Jean de l'Acadie et d'une lieue de chaque côté de la dite pointe sur deux de profondeur." (Doc. II. 224; Leg. 152).

There can be little doubt as to the location of this Seigniory, as shown on Map No. 39. Some versions give *Pointe aux Chenilles*, but others *Pointe aux Chenes*, and the Morris Map of 1758 shows that the present Oak Point was so called by the Acadians.

1697—Nashwaak to Long's Creek. To *Charles Genaples, Sieur de Vilrenard*. (April 23).

"Of the space of land containing a league and a half front by two in depth, to bound from the seigneurie of Naxcouak, to the river of Skoutcepkek, with the islands, islets and flats within that extent." (Murdoch I., 238; also Leg. 173.)

The boundaries given locate this Seigniory as on Map No. 38 and 39, even though its length is far underestimated. Murdoch gives the name of the Seignior as Villeneuve, but the French Documents have Vilrenard.

It is stated by Rameau (II. 188) that in 1750 M. de Vaudrenil possessed the great fief of Ekoupag, i. e., Ekpahak or Aucpac, but I know of no ground for this statement.

3. The Petitcodiac-Missequash District.

The fullest account we have of the seigniories and settlers in this district is given by Rameau de Saint-Père in his "Colonie Féodale." That of La Vallière was the most important of all seigniories in the present New Brunswick.

1676—Chignitou, or Beaubassin. To Michel l'le Neuf, Ecuyer, Sieur de la Vallière. (Oct. 24.)

"L'étendue de dix lieues de terre de front, qui sont du côté du sud, entre le Cap-Breton & l'isle Percée, à commencer depuis la rivière Kigiskouabouguet, icelle comprise jusqu' à une autre rivière appelée Kimoutgouitche, aussi y comprise avec dix lieues de profondeur dans lesdits terres, dont la baie de Chignitou & le cap Tourmentin font partie." (Mem. 753.)

The general location of this Seigniorie is plain enough, and as shown on map 39, though there is some doubt about its exact boundaries. The *Kigiskouabouguet* is probably River Philip, which the Miennas now call *Koos-koo-ti-boog-uac*, but I cannot locate *Kimoutgouitche*, but it may be at or near Shemogue. *La baie de Chignitou* is, of course, the present Cumberland Basin.

La Vallière, who was an important man in Acadia, made a successful attempt to introduce settlers and cultivate lands, and thus became the only seignior in what is now New Brunswick who to any degree fulfilled the conditions of his grant, and the only one who can thus be reckoned along with the seigniors of Quebec. He had a seigniorial manor, mentioned in a document of 1705, whose site is unknown, though in all probability it was on the island called always in French maps and documents *Isle La Vallière*, now Tonges Island, (Map No. 24.) About 1702 he became involved in disputes about boundaries with the settlers of Shepody and Petitcodiac, and this was settled by a special act of the Conseil d'État, in 1703 (Rameau, II., 337), which extended his seigniorie to include Shepody and Petitcodiac, but forbade his disturbing the settlers there.

In 1678 la Vallière gave a tract of land at Beaubassin for a mission, and it was thus described in a document of that year: (Le Tac, 191.)

"La donation faite par le Sr de la Vallière, seigneur de Beaubassin dans l'Acadie et Dam^{le} Denis, sa femme aux RR.PP. Recollets . . . de six arpens de front qui sont en prairies dans lad. seigneurie de Beaubassin sur la rivière appelée la Rivière Brouillée vis-à-vis la pointe de Beauséjour en montant au Nord-est & des terres qui se trouveront dans la profondeur depuis lad^{re} pointe juisques à moitié chemin des habitations des nommez Martin & La Vallée anisi qu'il est porté plus au long dans le contract de lad^{re} donation passé aux Trois Rivières le 2^e septembre 1678 pardevant Ameau, Notaire roial."

Since the identity of the Rivière Brouillée is unknown, it is impossible to locate this grant with certainty. Of course, the church would have been built upon it, and but two early churches are known in this vicinity, one at Beaubassin, near Fort Lawrence, and the other near Fort Beauséjour, though the earlier one burnt by Col. Church in 1696 perhaps stood on a different site. The latter stood on the western slope of the Fort Cumberland Ridge, not far from the fort (explained earlier), and from the mention of the grant as "opposite the point of Beauséjour going towards the northeast," we

may infer that the grant was there. In this case, the Rivière Bronillée would be either an earlier name for the Aulac, or for one of the two or three abandoned smaller streams in that vicinity. This Mission is marked on the "Carte générale de la Nouvelle France" of 1692, but not accurately enough to determine its precise position.

The settlements of Shepody and Petitcodiac were founded, as fully described by Rameau, in 1698, the former by Thibaudeau and the latter by Blanchard. In 1702 it was recommended by DesGouttins that they be given grants of these places, of course in seigniority, but decisions of the Council of State of 1703 and 1705 show that while they were allowed to continue to occupy their lands they were within the limits of the Seigniority of LaVallière. (Rameau, II., 336, 337.)

1700—Cape Near Shepody. *To Sieur de Villieu.* (Aug. 21.)

"Two leagues of land in front [and two in depth], to be taken from the Cape nearest to the Bay of Chiepoudy, on the north-east side thereof, descending to the south-west, together with the island called *aux Meules*." (Leg. 189.)

It is possible to locate this Seigniority only approximately, and its probable situation is shown on map No. 39. There is no doubt about *I. aux Meules*—it is the name on all the old maps for the present Grindstone Island.

4. *The Richibucto District.*

No account whatever of the seigniorities in this district has yet been published.

The first great grant in this region was that of 1636, confirmed in 1653 and 1667, to Nicolas Denys, which included all the coast from Cape Breton to Gaspé. It was not revoked until after 1685, for in that year Richard Denys, as representative of his father, made grants to Recollet Missionaries at Miramichi and Restigouche. Yet in 1684 a portion was regranted at Richibucto and other places.

1684—Richibucto. *To Louis d'Amours, Ecuyer, Sieur de Chauffours.* (Sept. 20, confirmed May 24, 1689).

"Ladite rivière Richibouctou, avec une lieüe de terre de front du côté du sud-ouest, & de l'autre côté jusques à trois lieües au delà de ladite rivière Chibouctouche, icelle comprise & les isles, islets adjacentes, & de profondeur jusqu'au portage qui se trouve dans ladite rivière Richibouctou, duquel portage sera tiré une ligne parallèle au front & bord de la mer, pour terminer ladite profondeur. . . . lequel fief & seigneurie portera le nom de Chauffours." (Mem. 748).

This Seigniority can be located perfectly, as shown on the map No. 39.

It is stated in the grant that the new Seigneur had for two years been cultivating a piece of land on the southwest side of the Richibucto, where he had built a fort and two small houses, and was intending to bring settlers there—to encourage all which, this grant was made. But about 1690 he had removed to Jemseg, as already shown, perhaps in order to be near his two brothers on the St. John.

It appears that land in this region had been granted previous to 1665, but not having been occupied, had reverted to the Crown. The grant is printed in full in Mem., p. 761.

1696—At Cocagne. *To George Renard, Sieur Duplessis.* (Oct. 15).

"The bay and river of Cocagne, situate in Acadia, together with two leagues of land in front on each side of the said bay by six leagues in depth, the said front to commence on the sea shore, and thus continue the whole depth, also the adjacent islands, islets and meadows, to which grant we give the name of Duplessis." (Leg. 158).

The location of this seigniorie is plain, and is as shown on the map No. 39. It overlaps the seigniorie of De Chauffours, a fact of course not known at that time. In the grant Sieur Duplessis is described as "Clerk in the country for M. De Lubert, treasurer general of the Navy."

1697—Linoville, at Shediac. *To Sieur Mathieu de Lino, Marchand à Quebec.* (Mar. 29).

"A certain tract of land containing five leagues or thereabouts by a similar depth, situate on the coast of Acadia, opposite the island of St. John, to be taken from the concession of the Sieur Duplessis, treasurer of the navy, of the Bay and River of Cocagne, going towards the south-east in the direction of that of the Sieur de la Vallière, together with the islands, islets, beaches and capes, situate opposite the same, and give to the said concession the name of Linoville." (Leg. 167.)

The location of this Seigniorie is plain and shown on map 39.

The grant states it is in return for his service as interpreter in the English language, which he has always done gratis.

1697—St. Paul at Cape Bald. *To Sieur Paul Dupuy.* (Apr. 4).

"Three leagues of land in front or thereabouts by a similar depth, situate on the coast of Acadia on the great bay of St. Lawrence, joining on one side the concession of the Sieur de Lino, and on the other side that of the Sieur de la Vallière, together with the islands, islets and beaches which may be found within the said extent, and give the said land the name of St. Paul." (Leg. 168).

The location is unmistakable, and is shown on map No. 39. The grant states that it is "in consideration of the good services which the said Sieur Dupuy has rendered in this country, as well in war as in the discharge of the situations which he has held."

5. The Miramichi District.

The history of the single Seigniorie of this district has not yet been written, except briefly in Mr. Raymond's recent paper on the North Shore. It was entirely unknown to Cooney, the only historian of the Miramichi valley.

1697—Miramichi. *To Sieur Richard Denys de Fronsac.* (Apr. 18, confirmed Mar. 16, 1691).

"A quinze lieues de devanture sur quinze lieues de profondeur, à prendre depuis la rivière *Des truites*, ycelle comprise une lieue tirant au sud-est, et les autres quatorze lieues tirant au nord ouest." (Docs II., 40, Murdoch I., 198).

There is much confusion in the different versions of this grant, and the confirmations usually attribute it to Nicolas Denys de Fronsac or Frontenac. Murdoch (I., 198) with others has this error. Yet several facts put it beyond doubt that the grant was to the son Richard, not to the father Nicolas.

Thus the only version I have seen of the original grant has Richard Denys; both St. Valier and Le Clercq tell us that Richard Denys lived at Miramichi, and they speak of him as proprietor; an early document (Archives, 1884, 18) on Seigniories speaks of Richard Denys de Fronsac as first grantee of Miramichi.

I have not been able to locate this Seignior. The identity of the Riviere des Truites (Trout River) is unknown; there must be some error about the directions, for a line running first southeast, and then northwest would run back upon itself. It must have been on the north side of Miramichi, partly because Denys residence (discussed earlier) was almost certainly there, and partly because grants at Nepisiguit later to be mentioned, bordered upon it.

Richard Denys afterwards acquired the extensive Seigniories of Nepisiguit and Restigouche.¹

In 1685, (Aug. 13), Richard Denys, as lieutenant for his father, granted three leagues of land to the Recollets for a mission on the river St. Croix (Miramichi) (Murdoch, I., 168). St. Valier says the missionaries chose the land at Skinoubondiche, which it can scarcely be questioned was the modern Burnt Church Point (see earlier); and thus originated the present Burnt Church Indian Mission, which is thus by far the oldest now in existence in New Brunswick. This Mission is marked on the "Carte générale de la Nouvelle France" of 1692, on the north side of the Miramichi, near its mouth, but not accurately enough to determine its exact site.

6. *The Nepisiguit District.*

No account of the Seigniories of this district has yet been published, excepting only the scanty and erroneous references in Cooney.

The original grant to Denys included all this district, and he had establishments, as he tells us in his book, at Miscou and Nepisiguit. His rights must have lapsed after 1685, for after that date large portions of that district were regranted.

It is possible there was a grant of Miscou to a Company in 1668, but evidently it was of little or no effect. (Archives, 1885, 33).

1689.—Pocmouche. To Michel De Grez, habitant de Pocmouche. (Aug. 3).

"1 lieue de front sur 1 lieue profondeur dans la Rivière de Pomouche."
(Leg. 112.)

The site of this grant (not a Seignior) may be fixed approximately, as on Map 39. This was afterwards included in a Seignior of Esnault (see later), and it is said of DeGrez (or Delgrais) that he has "retired with the English of Boston, and married an English woman, although he was married to an Indian woman, and his marriage had been solemnized in presence of the church."

1690.—Nepisiguit. To Sieur Jean Gobin, Marchand à Quebec. (May 26, confirmed March 16, 1691).

"Extent of twelve leagues in front by ten leagues in depth on the Baie des Chaleurs in Acadia, together with the rivers which may be found within the limits of the said tract of land, the said twelve leagues of land to com-

¹ On their later history see Murdoch, II., 441 and Archives, 1884, 10, 18.

mence running from the boundary of the concession made to the Sieur de Fronsac, settled by the Intendants' Ordinance bearing date the eighteenth day of April last, going towards the northeast, together with the points of land, islands, islets and shoals which may be found situate opposite the said tract of land."

In the preamble "including the River Nepisiguit" is given. (Murdoch, I., 198, Leg. 117).

It is not possible to locate this Seigniorly very exactly unless it be assumed that the Nepisiguit formed its central part, as was usual in such grants.

This grant (Archives, 1884, 9) was ceded by Gobin, "the first grantee," to Richard Denys de Fronsac, and through his wife descended to Rey-Gaillard, who held it in 1753.

This appears to be the grant that Cooney assigns to Jean Jacques Enaud, as including all land between Grand Ance and Jacquet River, which is certainly an error, as Gobin was the first grantee. Esnault (or Enaud) is spoken of in the Census of 1686 as a resident of Nepisiguit, as he is in his grant of Poemouche of 1693. He may have been agent for Gobin.

1693—Pokemouche. To *Philipes Esnault, habitant de Nepisiguit*. (Aug. 17; confirmed Apr. 15, 1694.)

"The said river Poemouche, and four leagues of land in front on each side of the same, by a similar depth, the present grant including the said one league of land heretofore conceded to the said Degrais." (Leg. 136).

The location is fairly plain, and as shown on Map No. 39. Degrais (DeGrez) had abandoned his land, owing Esnault 200 livres, as the grant relates.

Esnault is mentioned in documents of the time—in the Census and in Leclercq, who calls him Henaut, Sieur de Barbaucannes. Cooney gives traditions of him and calls him Jean Jacques Enaud, and puts his coming to Nepisiguit much too early. Dionne (Miscou) says he was granted the fief of Nepisiguit, two square leagues, but I find no authority for this, and it must be an error, since Nepisiguit was granted to Gobin. A René d'Eneau received a grant at Port Daniel in 1696.

1719—Miscou. To Count St. Pierre, *premier ecuyer de Madame la duchesse d'Orleans*.

The islands of St. John and Miscou. (Murdoch, I., 382). In 1730 this grant was revoked. An interesting account of it is given by Murdoch.

7. Restigouche District.

No account of the single Seigniorly on this river on the New Brunswick side has yet been published.

In 1685 (Aug. 3) Richard Denys de Fronsac, acting as lieutenant for his father, granted three leagues of land at Restigouche to the Recollets for a mission. There is no special evidence to locate this grant, but it is altogether probable it included old Mission Point above Campbellton, as already discussed.

1690—Restigouche. (May 26, confirmed March 16, 1691). To *Sieur [Pierre] Le Moyne d'Iberville*.

"A space of land of 12 leagues front by 10 leagues in depth, in the Bay of Chaleurs, in Acadie, comprising the rivers to be found within that

extent, measuring said 12 leagues from the boundary of Sr. Gobin's grant on the north west course in part, and the other part on the east south east, the river of Restigouche included, with the points, islands, islets and flats in the front." (Murdoch, I., 198. Doc. II., 40; Leg. 118.)

The location of this Seigniory is in the main clear, and as shown in Map No. 39. It could hardly, however, have bordered upon the lands of Gobin, as the distance from Nepisiguit to Restigouche is too great.

This Seigniory was ceded by d'Iberville to Richard Denys de Fronsac (Archives, 1884,10) and descended through his wife to Rey-Gaillard, who held it in 1753.

The grant of 1707 to Charles Morin on the River Listigouche was in Cloridon and therefore in Quebec, outside of our present limits.

IV. THE ENGLISH PERIOD.

This clearly marked and most interesting period of our history, second in importance only to the Loyalist period, has not yet been treated as a whole by any of our historians. Its beginning was really marked by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, which transferred Acadia to England, though it was always denied by the French that the Acadia thus ceded included the mainland, or what is now New Brunswick. No attempt was made by the English to settle any part of this Province until after the capture of Fort Beauséjour (Fort Cumberland) and the expulsion of the Acadians. The first actual English settlement in any part of the present New Brunswick, excepting a few settlers about Fort Cumberland, was made by a party of New Englanders from Rhode Island at Sackville in 1761. The next year James Simonds established himself at the mouth of the St. John, and in 1763 a large colony from New England settled at Mauderville, on the St. John, constituting the largest and most important immigration to this part of the Province that occurred in this period. About the same time the traders and fishermen from New England, previously migratory, began to settle at Passamaquoddy, and slowly increased in numbers until 1770, when Lieutenant William Owen settled at Campobello with his colony of thirty settlers from England, the most important accession to this region in this period. New settlers from New England continued to arrive at the head of the Bay of Fundy, and in 1763 a few families of German descent from Pennsylvania settled on the west side of the Petitcodiac, while in 1772 the settlements about the Misseguash district received a most important accession in a number of families from Yorkshire, England. In 1764 Davidson and Cort, from Scotland, settled on the Miramichi, and from time to time other settlers joined them. At Nepisiguit, about 1766, Commodore Walker established an important trading post, with a branch at Restigouche, where also one Shoolbred was established. On the St. John, settlers continued to arrive from different places, though in no great numbers, and a few came as ten-

ants upon the great grants which were made in this period. During the early part of the revolution all of the New Brunswick settlements suffered greatly from the attacks of privateers, which is a polite name for those vultures who use great causes as a cloak for the most dastardly and cowardly of outrages. After Fort Howe was built in 1778, the settlements on the St. John were safe, and many settlers from more exposed places went there, while war vessels in the Bay of Fundy partially protected the others; but the traders on the Miramichi, Nepisiguit and Restigouche were well nigh or quite ruined by them. Finally, after the peace of 1783, this period at Passamaquoddy and on the St. John was brought to an abrupt end by the arrival of the Loyalists. They produced, however, comparatively little effect in Sackville and Cumberland, at the head of the Bay of Fundy, and practically none at all anywhere on the North Shore, in which the English period may be considered to have merged gradually into the Post-Loyalist period.

Of the greatest importance in the history of this period is the attempt to settle the Province by the introduction of tenants through immense grants made to officers and others. It is not within the function of this paper to trace the history of this most important and interesting subject, and I can but indicate here a few of its leading points. Shortly after 1760 it was decided to reserve most of the rich lands of the St. John for officers of the Royal service. So markedly was this the policy of Government that it was only through an exception made in their favour that the Mauderville settlers were able to hold the lands they had taken possession of in 1763. In 1765 the St. John and Passamaquoddy were surveyed by Morris, and there began a series of immense land grants to individual officers and to associations of disbanded officers and others. The larger of these grants were established as townships of some 100,000 or more acres, and during 1765 no less than eleven of these townships, those of Francfort, Amesbury, Burton, Sunbury, Newtown, Conway, Gaagetown, and one other on the St. John, and Monckton, Hopewell and Hillsborough on the Petitecodiac were granted, with numerous smaller grants in their vicinity. Mauderville and Cumberland had already been granted to genuine settlers, and Sackville was later similarly granted. The history of these three townships differs from all the others in that they were settled before they were granted. In later years other large grants were made, but not again in such abundance and size as in 1765. A condition of all these grants was the settlement upon them of a given, and considerable, number of settlers within a certain time, and there is abundant evidence in old records, such as newspaper advertisements, colonization broadsides, etc., that many of the grantees made vigorous efforts to obtain settlers, offering them most liberal inducements. But settlers were very hard to obtain, and in many of these townships few or none were settled, and in none of them whatever were the conditions complied with sufficiently to hold the land. In some

of the other large grants to smaller associations and to individuals, however, settlers were brought and conditions fulfilled, so that the land is held under those titles to this day. The best examples of this are Campobello at Passamaquoddy, and Kemble Manor and a part of Spryhampton, on the St. John, but there were several others of lesser note as well. It was, of course, expected that many of these grants would be settled like the great estates in England, with tenants paying rent to the proprietors; and some of them were, of which Campobello is the best example, in which, indeed, the tenant system persists to this day. In the case of the great townships, however, where the proprietors were numerous, they were probably actuated rather by a spirit of speculation, based on the belief that these lands would advance immensely in value, and could then be sold out at a large profit. But this expectation was never realized, and when in 1783 the lands were needed for the Loyalists, there was no difficulty in securing the escheat of all the townships for non-fulfilment of conditions, and they were regranted to actual Loyalist settlers, as will presently be described. It is rather a striking coincidence that these same lands which the French Government attempted to settle upon the seigniorial system, the British Government attempted nearly a century later to settle upon the tenant system, and that the attempt failed in both cases, though the lands themselves are among the richest in America. Thus the great townships on the St. John all became extinct, and even their names are mostly forgotten, though some of them, Burton, Sunbury, Gagetown persist as parishes or county. But would it not be well, as new names are needed in those places, to revive again *Francfort*, *Amesbury* or *Almeston*, *Concay*, and even the names of smaller grants, such as *Spryhampton*, *Mount Pawlett*, *Heatonville*, *Morrisania*? In Westmorland, though *Monckton*, *Hillsborough* and *Hopewell* were escheated, the names persist; in this county the old townships of Nova Scotia all became parishes in New Brunswick. The old townships produced, however, one effect which still lasts; their boundaries in many cases became parish, and even county lines, particularly in Westmorland, and in many cases these boundaries have persisted through all subsequent changes.

The settlements and land grants of this period are shown on the accompanying map No. 45, on which those whose locations are not certainly known to me are in dotted lines. One will be struck at once with the fact that both settlements and grants of this period coincide remarkably with those of the preceding Acadian period. There is, of course, no genetic connection between the two, but the coincidence is due to independent adaptation to a similar environment,—it is the nature of the country that determines where the settlements were in the two cases. A second feature is the much larger settlement of the Passamaquoddy and St. John and Cumberland region in comparison with the North Shore, which in this period received hardly any settlers at all, and those mostly from

England. This fact is partly explained by the superior quality of the land on the St. John and at Cumberland, and of the fishery at Passamaquoddy, but a far more important cause is found in geographical conditions. Since all travel was by water, and most of the settlers were from New England, the far distant North Shore naturally received but few of them. A third striking fact is the importance of the rivers and harbours in influencing settlement; none of those in this period were away from the margin of waters navigable by small vessels.

A. SETTLEMENTS AND FORTS.

1. *The Passamaquoddy District.*

The history of the settlements of this period in this district has been so fully written in the "Courier Series," and in the two papers on Campobello in the Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society that the very briefest reference is all that is necessary here, and the facts given below are to be understood as derived from these two sources. The period began with the visits of New England fishermen and traders soon after 1760, and except for the Owen colony, all were from New England. The first permanent settler was Alexander Hodges at Pleasant Point in 1763; others came from time to time to different points, and a great accession was made in the Owen colony on Campobello in 1770. The settlers gradually, but very slowly, increased in numbers until the coming of the Loyalists in 1783. With the exception of the Campobello colony and one or two others, however, the settlers were all squatters to whose fancied rights the Loyalists paid scant regard.

A.—At St. Stephen. Fishermen had a camp here as early as 1760, and when the Loyalists came in 1784 they found nine families on the site of St. Stephen scattered along the river front. A full account of them and their exact locations is in the Courier Series.

B.—At St. Andrews. In 1770 two settlers established themselves near the public landing at St. Andrews, and others came later. The name St. Andrews was used at least as early as 1765, and belongs perhaps to the Acadian period.

C.—Digdeguash. Joseph Curry settled at the mouth of this river soon after 1770.

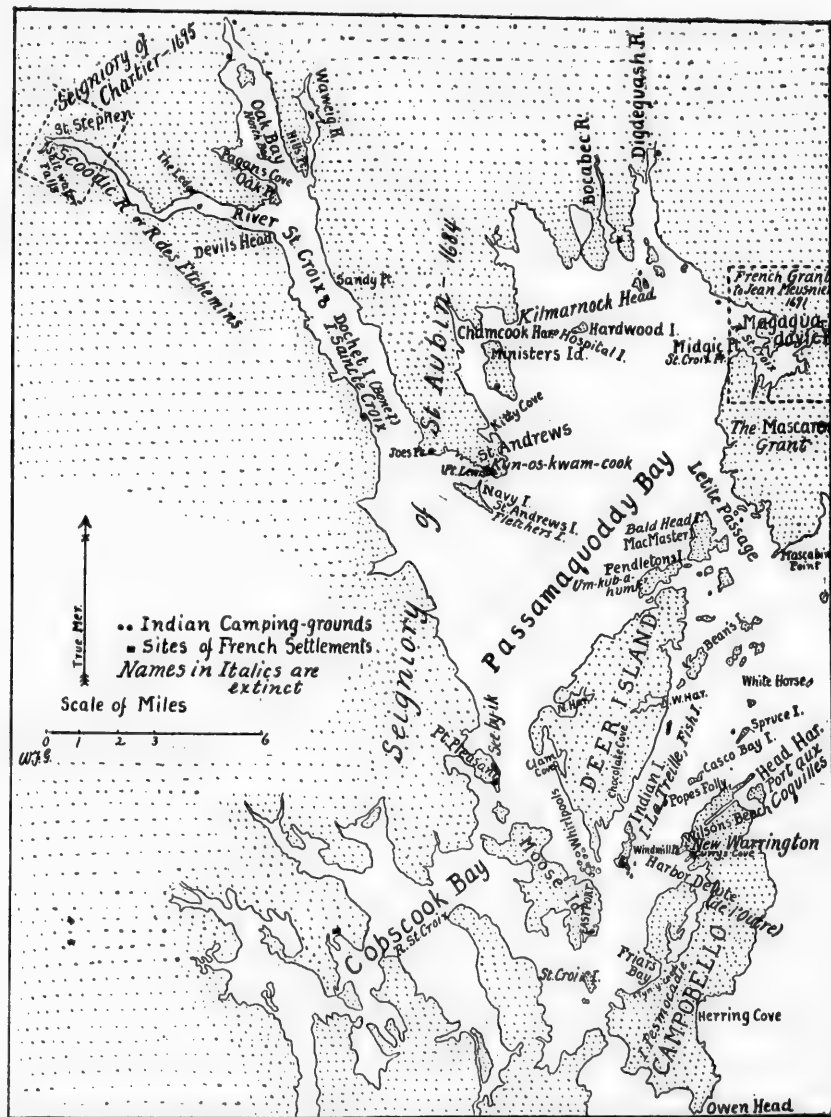
D.—Deer Island. In 1770 Captain Ferrel established himself at Chocolate Cove, after buying the Island from its original grantee; other settlers came later.

E.—Pleasant Point. The first settler came in 1763, and others later. This was probably the earliest permanent English settlement in this district.

F.—Indian Island. James Boyd settled here in 1763, and others later. This island became an important trading post, and was known also as Fish Island or Perkins Island. All the early settlers appear to have occupied the southern end of the island. Marvel Island, connected with it on the south, was probably the site of Simonds' and White's trading post of 1763-1770.

G.—Moose Island. Settlement was begun here about 1772.

H.—Campobello. On this island were two important settlements. Robert Wilson with others settled at Wilson's Beach in 1766, buying out one predecessor,



MAP NO. 40. HISTORICAL MAP OF PASSAMAQUODDY.

Wilson was a squatter, but acquired his lands by possession, later confirmed by a grant. In 1770 Lieutenant Owen arrived from England with some 30 settlers and established the settlement of New Warrington on Campobello, the most important of the pre-Loyalist settlements in this district. The site of this settlement is perfectly well known and shown on a cut on p. 11 of the second Campobello paper. It was on Harbour Delute between Curry's cove and Wilson's Beach.

There were temporary settlers on Grand Manan at Bonny's Brook, but for a short time only, as related by Mr. Howe. (Coll. N. B. Hist. Soc., I. 346.)

There were possibly a few scattered single settlers at other points in this district, and there were others on Cobscook bay, not within our present limits, but these are all that are positively known in the region within the limits of this paper. The sites of these settlements are shown on the accompanying map No. 40. It is noteworthy with what regularity the settlements of this period occupied the same sites as those of the Acadian period, which in their turn had so frequently occupied the sites of earlier Indian camping-grounds.

During this period there were no forts in this district.

2. The St. John District.

Though no complete history of the settlements of this period on the St. John has yet been attempted, there are very satisfactory histories of at least three of the particular settlements by New Brunswick historians, i.e. of the Maugerville Settlement by Hannay, of Kemble Manor by Howe, and of the settlements at the mouth of the river by Raymond; and there are many references to other settlements of the period in the writings of these and other local historians. A most valuable document giving a full return of all the settlers in this district before the coming of the Loyalists has been printed in the collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society; and in the Crown Land office at Fredericton are many maps, grants, etc., relating to the period. The materials, therefore, are fairly ample for recovering the locations of the settlements of this period in this district, and a brief account will here suffice.

The permanent settlement of the district began with the arrival of James Simonds at the mouth of the river in 1762. In the next year the Maugerville colony brought a large number of settlers from New England, and formed the only important single accession received during the period; for, after that, the settlers, coming from the most diverse sources, arrived singly or in small numbers, so that they increased but slowly, though steadily, until the coming of the Loyalists in 1783. The attempt to settle the best lands of the river by large grants on the tenant system, presently to be considered, was almost a complete failure. The settlements of this period extended up from the mouth of the river to St. Anne's Point, at which and just above until the end of the period, were some sixty families of Acadian French. The positions of the townships will be described in the next section.



A. SETTLEMENTS.

A.—St. Annes Point. The return of 1783 shows three families here. The exact sites of their settlement and of those of the French Acadians are not known to me, though possibly some of the early plans in the York deeds would throw light upon the subject.

B.—Nashwaak. In 1783 there were eight families here in the township of Newtown. Here near the old French fort, John Anderson had a grant and established a trading post in 1764. (See map No. 17).

A sawmill, on the site of the present mills at Marysville, was commenced by the Canada Company in 1766.

C.—Burton. (then including the present Lincoln). In 1783 some forty-two families were scattered along the river, of whom several were at the mouth of the Oromocto.

D.—Maugerville. The history of this settlement by Mr. Hannay, in the collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society, I., 63, gives full information upon it. It was composed of New Englanders and was by far the largest and most important settlement of the period in New Brunswick.

E.—Spryhampton, Heatonville, etc. (for location see map No. 45). These were not included in the return of 1783, and hence we know less about the settlements here than elsewhere. The map by Morris of 1774, shows several houses along the west bank of the river between Swan Creek and Harts Lake, but none on the opposite side except two at Jemseg. There were several later settlers about Jemseg, however, on leases from William Spry.

F.—Gagetown. The return of 1783 shows some thirty-seven families settled here, some of them on Musquash Island, of whom several, no doubt, lived on the site of the modern village of Gagetown. In 1771 C. N. G. Jadis had a store on the site of Gagetown, burnt that year by the Indians.

G.—Kemble Manor. The history of this grant and its settlers is fully given by Mr. Howe in the New Brunswick Magazine, I., 146. Several settlers upon it were scattered along the river.

H.—Amesbury, now Kingston. In 1783 there were but four families upon this tract.

I.—Indiantown. The Indian house for trading with the Indians was built here in 1779, and there was another settler on the opposite side of the river, of which full accounts are given by Mr. Raymond.

J.—Conway. (Carleton) See the following :

K.—Portland. The history of the settlements at the mouth of the St. John has been so exhaustively and authoritatively treated by Mr. Raymond (in the New Brunswick Magazine, vols. I., II. and III.) that no further reference to the subject is necessary here.

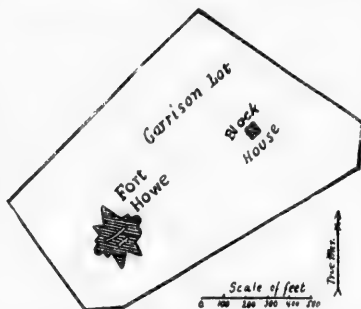
B. FORTS.

In this period there were but three occupied forts on the St. John.

A.—Fort Frederick. This stood at Carleton on the "Old Fort" site, whose earlier history has already been considered. It was at times in this period occupied by a small garrison, but being found insufficient for the defence of the river and harbour against the New England privateers, was abandoned

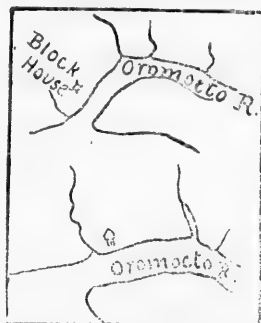
when Fort Howe was built. Its ground plan is shown on the accompanying map No. 41.

B.—Fort Howe. This fort was built in 1778 for the protection of the harbour



MAP No. 42. FROM CUNNINGHAM'S "PLAN OF THE CITY AND HARBOUR OF ST. JOHN," 1835; $\times \frac{3}{4}$.

(in Coll. N. B. Hist. Soc., I, 312, and N. B. Mag. II, 81). Ground plans of it are shown on the accompanying maps Nos.



MAP No. 43. SITE OF FORT HUGHES. FROM OLD PLANS; $\times \frac{1}{2}$.

and river against the New England privateers, which were particularly destructive to the settlers here in the early part of the Revolution. Its site is perfectly well known. It stood on the ridge back of Portland, and its name is still applied to the place. A picture of it made in 1781, is extant and has been published

(in Coll. N. B. Hist. Soc., I, 312, and N. B. Mag. II, 81). Ground plans of it are shown on the accompanying maps Nos. 41 and 42, the first made probably by Robert Morse in 1784 to accompany his well-known Report, and the second from the Cunningham map of the harbour of 1835. Its position in relation to the other forts is shown on map No. 37.

C.—Fort Hughes. This was but a block-house, built in 1780. Its site is well known locally, and is shown on the accompanying map No. 43, copied from old plans in the Crown Land office.



MAP No. 41. FROM A "PLAN OF THE CITY AND HARBOUR OF SAINT JOHN," 1784. BY ROBT. MORSE (?); $\times \frac{1}{2}$.

A. Fort Howe.
B. Block House.
F. Navy Island.
G. Fort Frederick.

3. The Petitcodiac-Misseguash District.

The history of the settlements of this period in this district, though of the very greatest interest and importance, has not yet been sufficiently treated. Mr. W. C. Milner has published newspaper articles upon the subject, and there is a small pamphlet by Charles Dixon treating of the York-shire settlers, with other fugitive newspaper articles, of which indeed a great number have appeared in the columns of the "Chignecto Post." On the settlement of the Petitcodiac I know of nothing published, aside

from a single article in the *St. John Sun*, referred to below. It is astonishing that so important and interesting a field has remained so long nearly unworked.

The period really begins for this district with the capture of Fort Beauséjour from the French in 1755, but actual settlement did not begin until the Rhode Islanders settled on the Tantramar in 1761. In 1763 some families of Pennsylvania Germans settled on the Shepody and Petitcodiac. Especially important was the arrival, in 1772, of several families from Yorkshire, England, who settled the rich lands about Amherst, Fort Cumberland and Sackville, forming one of the most valuable additions ever made to the population of this Province. This region was, therefore, fairly well settled when the Loyalists arrived, and in consequence has less of the Loyalist element than any other important part of New Brunswick.

A.—Sackville. According to Mr. Milner (in the "Chignecto Post," anniversary number, Sept. 1895), and Huling (*The Rhode Island Emigration to Nova Scotia*, 1889) some twenty-five families from Rhode Island settled here in 1761. Other settlers came later, including some thirteen members of a Baptist church from Swansea, Mass. The grant of Sackville of 1765 gives a full list of the settlers, and its later history is traced by Mr. Milner.

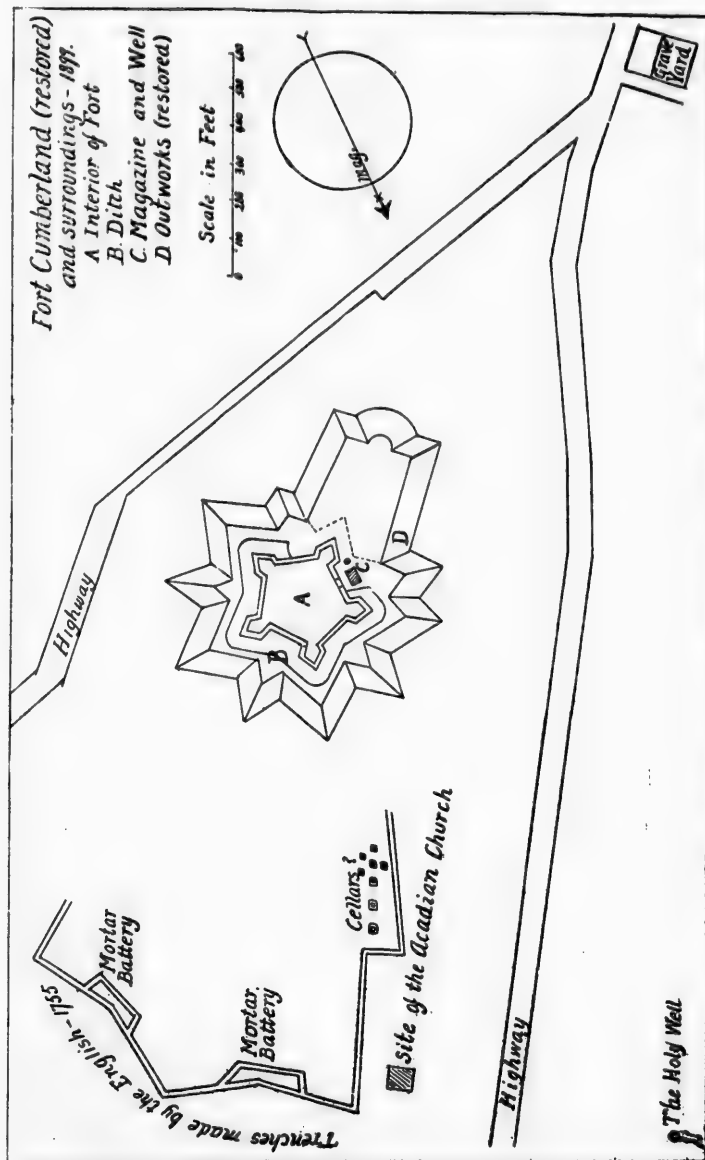
B.—Cumberland Township. (For location see map No. 45). This included the Fort Cumberland and Fort Lawrence Ridges, and here the Yorkshire settlers who arrived in 1772, and later, bought land which their descendants occupy to this day.

C.—Petitcodiac. In 1763 several families of German descent from Pennsylvania, ancestors of the leading families of Albert County, arrived at the Petitcodiac, settled on the site of Hillsborough and Surrey, and formed the beginning of the permanent settlement of that region. They increased in numbers and appear to have sent a branch to the Shepody river, for, as is said locally, Germantown Lake and the stream still called German Creek must have taken their origin from some such settlement. But the whole subject of the history of this important colony has not been written, except in a newspaper article by Judge Botsford, in the "Chignecto Post" of January 14, 1886. It is also stated that there were three log houses on the site of Moncton when the Loyalists arrived in 1783, but no other settlements on this river are positively known. Several references to these settlements occur in Black's and Alline's Journals of 1781 and 1782.

No settlement of this period is known to me on the Memramcook, aside, of course, from that of the Acadians who were permitted to settle there in 1767.

No new forts were built in this district in this period, though Fort Cumberland, earlier Beauséjour, was garrisoned through most of the period. After it was captured by the English it was altered somewhat, and improved by the erection of outworks, a special magazine, etc. (*Archives*, 1884, xlvii.) With its surroundings, it is shown on the accompanying map No. 44, which is based partly upon a plan in the Crown Land office, and partly upon measurements by the author. The trenches, mortar battery sites, outworks, etc., are still all plainly to be seen, as shown on the map.

¹ In comparing the fort on this map, No. 44, with that of Beauséjour, on map No. 22, the corresponding positions may be found from the compass lines.

MAP No. 44. FORT CUMBERLAND AND SURROUNDINGS. BASED PARTLY ON AN OLD PLAN; X $\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Fort Gaspereau was re-named Monckton, but was soon abandoned. In front of its site is a small burial-ground (map No. 30), the oldest in New Brunswick containing monuments, and of great historic interest.

4. *The Richibucto District.*

In all this district, from Baye Verte to Cape Escuminac, there is not a single settlement of this period known to me. There were some extensive grants, later to be referred to, but these were not settled. There were of course Acadian settlements, already mentioned.

5. *The Miramichi District.*

No history of the settlements of this period has been attempted beyond the references in Cooney, but in any case they were not important. The whole North Shore was geographically too remote to be affected by the New England immigration, and it appears to have received absolutely none of it, and such settlement as it did receive came directly from England.

In 1764 William Davidson and John Cort came to Miramichi from Scotland, and the next year obtained a large grant on this river, and with the aid of a few others who came later, of whom an account, probably accurate, is given by Cooney, carried on an extensive salmon fishery and trade with the Indians. The Blakes and Murdochs are also said to be pre-Loyalist settlers, and Cooney mentions others, some of whom came from St. Johns, now Prince Edward, Island. There is in the Public Record office a valuable map (see Archives, 1895, N. B., 3), which shows the Miramichi on a large scale, with the exact sites of the houses of the settlers, apparently uninfluenced by the Loyalist period, and this map is of the greatest value for the local historian of Miramichi. Matter of interest in this connection is given also by Raymond in his "The North Shore."

6. *The Nepisiguit District.*

In all this district, aside of course from Acadian settlers, we know of but a single attempt at settlement, that of Commodore Walker, of which an account is given by Cooney, which is apparently trustworthy. Walker settled on Bathurst harbour about 1766, at Alston Point, where he had an extensive trading establishment, with a branch at Restigouche. He was ruined, however, by the attacks of American privateers during the early part of the revolution, and later returned to England. The site of his establishment is well known and is shown on map No. 35.¹ There are references to him in Archives 1894, 301, 304.² The several grants of this

¹ See also Raymond, Coll. N. B. Hist. Soc., II., 126.

² Cooney says he had a residence also at Youghall, and a plan of the harbour of 1784, given (with, however, several additions of later date) in Coll. N. B. Hist. Soc., II., 126, shows houses here as well as at Alston Point.

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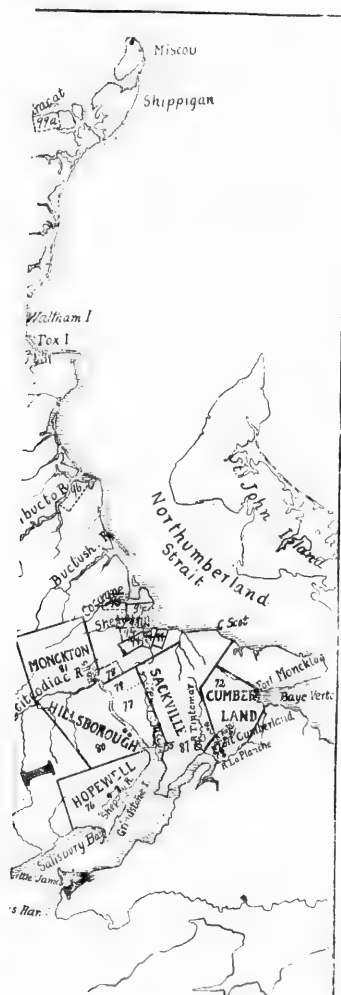
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MAP OF THE PROVINCE OF
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period about Bathurst harbour are later to be mentioned. In 1775 two men named Fry and Urquhart were carrying on a fishery at Miscou (Archives 1894, 331). The lake at the northern end of the island is to-day called *Fry's Lake* (Map No. 34), which no doubt locates his residence.

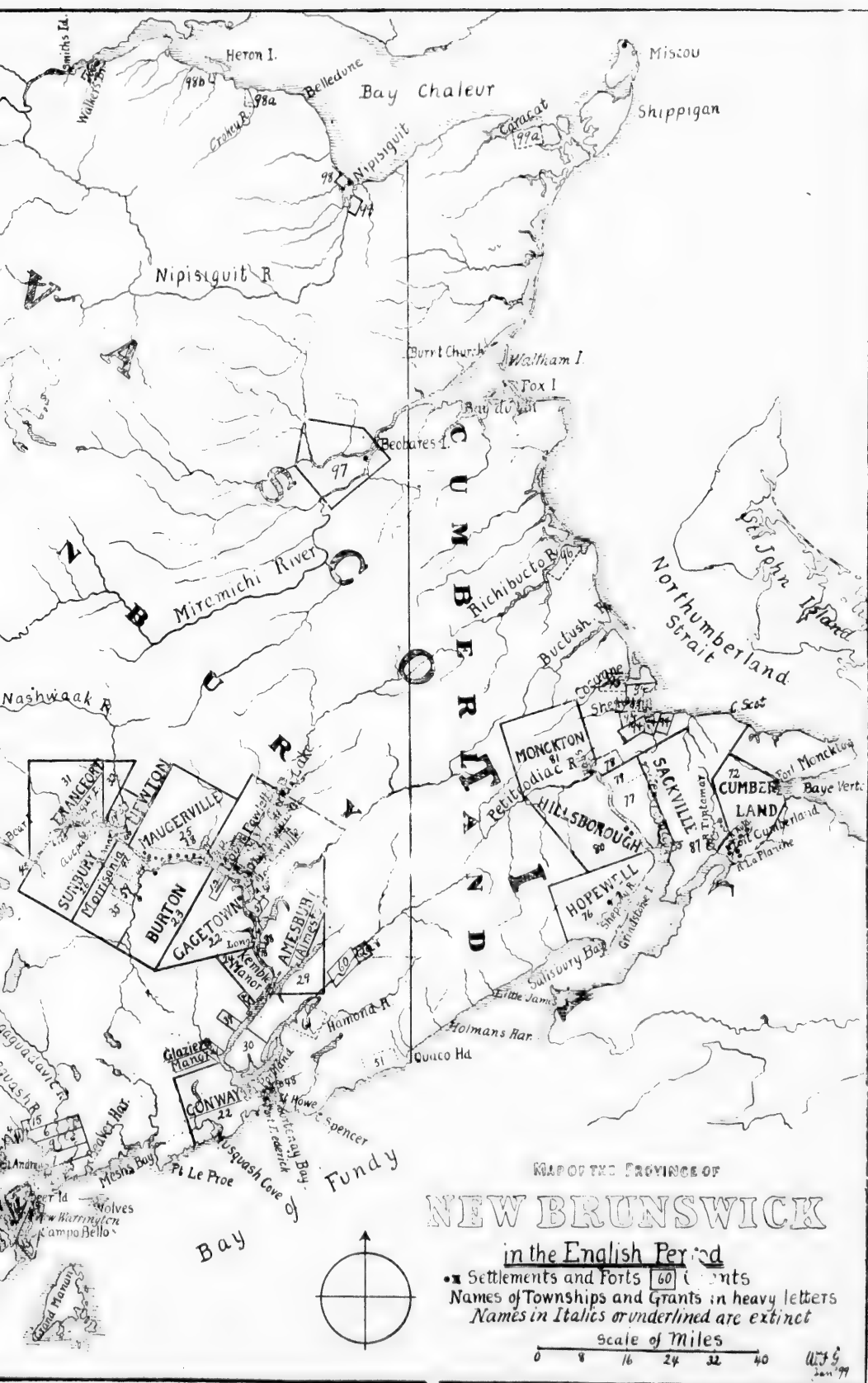
7. The Restigouche District.

In all this district we know positively of but two settlements belonging to this period. One of these was the establishment maintained by Walker as a branch of that on Bathurst harbour. It is said that Walker's Brook takes its name from him, in which case it probably marks the site of this trading post, though its site is locally unknown. Again, it is stated in a document of 1775 (Archives, 1894, 327, 329), that John Shoolbred had a settlement in the Bay Chaleurs, and as his grant in 1776 covered Walker's Brook and Smith's Island, it must have been in that vicinity. A document of this year speaks of his having carried on the salmon fishery for many years at Restigouche.

2. THE TOWNSHIP AND OTHER GRANTS.

No list of the land grants of this period in New Brunswick, important though they are to our history, has yet been published. In the following list I have given all that are found recorded in the Grant Books at the Crown Land Office in Fredericton, which are supposed to contain all that were made by the Nova Scotia Government prior to 1784 in what is now New Brunswick. There were, however, a few made which are not in the New Brunswick records, but these, when known to me, are included, and the list must be fairly complete. As one comes to the year 1784, it becomes difficult to distinguish those belonging to this period from some of those belonging to the Loyalist period, but I have tried to separate them. On the map (No. 45) the scale is so small that it has been impossible to show at all some of the smaller grants, and it has been necessary to apply names only to the townships and some of the larger grants, and for the remainder to use numbers which always correspond to the numbers in the list following. In cases where small grants were made in townships, such as Mauderville, they are not shown on the map, though they stand with a number in the list. Of course, the boundaries of most of the townships, etc., on the map, are only approximate, though I think they are closely so, and where they afterwards became parish or county boundaries they are exact. Where I am not sure of boundaries, they are given in dotted lines. The abbreviation *esch.* after a grant in the list means that it is marked escheated in the Grant Book at Fredericton, but far more were really escheated than are thus marked.





MAP OF NEW BRUNSWICK IN THE ENGLISH PERIOD.

I. The Passamaquoddy District.

The grants of this period are fully described in the Courier series and merely a list of them must suffice here. Their locations are shown on the accompanying map No. 45. Particularly valuable for their location is a large undated map of Passamaquoddy in the Crown Land Office at Fredericton, based upon Morris' map of 1765. Of the large grants only that to the Owens escaped forfeiture for non-fulfilment of conditions, though in the case of Deer Island a later grant was made to its purchaser.

1. To Capt. Sheriff and Lieut. Gamble, at the Ledge; known only by a reference in Tucker's Grant; size and date unknown. Perhaps only a reservation.
2. 1765—Oct. 18. Perkins (Indian) Island was granted with other lands on the St. John to Thomas Falconer and others (i. e., No. 23 below).
3. Oct. 31. To Francis Bernard and four others, 100,000 acres between the Cobscook and Seodic.
4. 1767—March 28. James Boyd; 1,900 a. at the mouth of the Bocabee (not Dickawasset as in grant book).
5. July —. To John Tucker, 20,000 a. on Seodic River.
6. July 17. Augustin Oldham, 10,000 a. east of the Digdeguash. (Esch.)
7. Aug. 21. John Mascareen, 10,000 a. south of the Magaguadavic. Gave origin to the present name of the locality. (Esch. 1785.)
8. To Thomas Gambel. S. of Mascareen's Grant, at Letite, 2,000 a. Known only from an old map.
9. Aug. 21. Edward Crosby, 10,000 a. north of the Mascareen Grant.
10. Aug. 21. Joseph William Gorham, 10,000 a. east side of Seodic, near its mouth.
11. Aug. 21. Jo. William Gorham, 10,000 a., including Oak Bay.
12. Aug. 21. Joseph Gorham, Deer Island and an island adjoining.
13. Sept. 30. William Owen and others, Passamaquoddy Outer Island, 4,000 a. Named by them Campobello. This grant holds good to this day, almost the only one in this list which does.
14. 1771—June 26. William Owen. Three small islands northeast of Campobello.
15. 1774—April. Captain Thomas Farrel, 2,000 a. at mouth of Digdeguash.

Lord William Campbell applied for a reservation of Grand Manan in 1776, and later attempts were made by his heirs to secure the island. (On which see Howe, Coll. N. B. Hist. Soc. I., 345, also Archives, 1894, 253.)

2. The St. John District.

No complete account of the great grants of this period on the St. John has yet been attempted, though there are many references to the subject in local writings.¹ A map of 1765 by Morris, in the Public Record Office, gives very accurately all of the Townships granted in that year, and is therefore of the greatest importance to the present subject.

¹ The fullest account that has yet appeared is by Raymond, in *New Brunswick Magazine*, I., 263, and III., 249.

The complicated history of the Simonds and other grants on the east side of the mouth of the St. John (i.e., 20, 48, 65, below) is traced fully, with map, by Raymond in *New Brunswick Magazine*, III., 1, 129. The enormous size of some of the grants made in this period will at once strike the attention. The township grants were made mostly to members of the "Canada Company," an organization of some 68 officers and others, who took up the lands chiefly upon speculation. The sites of these grants, as far as known, are shown upon the accompanying map No. 45, and as complete a list as I have been able to make of them is as follows.

16. **1763**—Dec. 8. Andrew Ferguson, 600 a. at O. Park [Auepac], including Sandon [Hart's] Island. (Apparently granted later to the Indians.)
17. Dec. 8. William Ferguson, 400 a. (no other reference), N. side St. John, fronting Sandon [Hart's] Id.
18. **1764**—Dec. 15. Sir Robert Wilmot, 1,000 a., Long Island, and tract on mainland (38 below).
Feb. 10. Stumpel, 20,000 a. on the St. John (Archives, 1894, 261.) Location unknown.
19. **1765**—Mar. 25. Wm. Jeffray and associate, 2,000 a. at Natchoukehich [Nashwaaksis].
20. Oct. 2. James Simonds and 2 others, 2,000 a. on St. John River and Harbour.
21. Oct. 15. Beamsley Perkins Glasier, 5000 a. at mouth of Nerepis (later called **Glasier's Manor**) ; 1000 a. adjoining, June 22, 1784.
22. Oct. 18. Thomas Falconer and 60 others, 100,000 a. in **Gagetown** ; 50,000 a. in **Conway**.
23. Oct. 18. Thomas Falconer and 60 others 100,140 a. in **Burton** and Perkins [Indian] Id. in Passamaquoddy.
24. Oct. 20. Thomas Gage and associates, 20,000 a. on Long Reach. Later called **Kemble Manor**.
25. Oct. 21. Joshua Mauger and others. **Maugerville** Township and Mauger's Island. In 1773, several other grantees.
26. Oct. 31. Thomas Falconer and 65 others, **Sunbury** Township, 125,000 a., except Augh-pack and St. Ann's Point (including 32 below).
27. Oct. 31. Isaac Caton and James Caton, 2,000 a. on Long Reach.
28. Oct. 31. James Chadwell and 64 others, Township of **Maugerville**, 100,000 a.
29. Oct. 31. Alexander MacNutt and 22 others. Township next to Glasier's, 100,000 a. Afterwards called the Township of **Amesbury** or **Almeston**.
30. Oct. 31. Walter Stirling and 9 others, 10,000 a. on Long Reach. (Not esch., but regranted.)
31. Oct. 31. Alexander MacNutt and others ; 100,000 a. on the Keswick, Township of **Francfort** (also called MacNutt's).

The Morris map of 1765 has the following grants (shown on map No. 45), not mentioned in the Grants Book at Fredericton.

32. Oct. 31. Col. Frederick Haldimand and disbanded officers, 25,000 a. near the Nashwaak. This is included in No. 26 above.
33. Oct. 18. Col. Frederick Haldimand and disbanded officers, 25,000 a. on the Nashwaak.

- Nos. 32 and 33 later formed Township of **New Town** (on the map misprinted Newton).
34. Matthew Clarkson and others, 100,000 a., a Township on both sides of Grand Lake. Probably but a reserve, never granted.
 35. Township reserved, Dec. 24, 1764, for Major Otho Hamilton and others; 100,000 a. between Burton and Sunbury. Never granted. (Afterwards included in Burton.)
 36. Francis Morris, 1,000 a. just below Maugerville.
 37. Saml Morris, 1,000 a. just below the preceding.
 38. Sir Robert Wilmot, 250 a. on E. bank of the St. John, opposite Long Island.
 39. Col. Conyngham, 5,000 a. on Long Reach, below Devil's Back.
 40. The Indians, 500 a. at Auepac, including the island, and 4 a. at St. Ann's, including site of the chapel and burying ground. (Reserved 1765, granted 1768.) See 16 and 26 above.
 41. **1767**—Feb. Charles Morris, Jr., 10,000 a. S. E. of Sunbury, on St. John. Later called **Morrisania**.
 42. Feb. 21. Hezekiah Morris and others, 2,000 a. S. of Maugerville.
 43. July 3. Leonard Lockman, 1,000 a. on N. W. boundary Sunbury. (Esent. 785.)
 44. July 23. Arthur Goold, 3000 a. on N. E. of Burton. Later sometimes called Gooldsborough.
 45. July 23. Giles Tidmarsh, 1,000 a. in Maugerville.
 46. Oct. 9. John Anderson, 1,000 a. at Nashack Creek.
 47. **1769**—Apr. 5. J. F. W. DesBarres, 2,000 a. at Maugerville.
 48. **1770**—May 1. James Simonds, 2,000 a. E. side River and Harbour of St. John.
 49. July 4. Richard Peabody and 10 others, 3,250 a. in Maugerville. In 1773 there were other grants in this township of which particulars are not given.
 50. **1773**—July 17. William Spry, 920 a. on N. E. side of the St. John.
 51. Sept. 27. Benonie Danks, 10,000 a. W. of Quaco Hd.
 52. **1774**—Mar. 15. William Pawlett, 3,000 a. on River St. John, to be called **Mount Pawlett**.
 53. Apr. 2. William Spry, 3000 a. on River St. John, to be called **Spry-hampton**.
 54. Apr. 2. James Spry Heaton, 2,000 a. on River St. John, to be called **Heatonville**.
 55. **1779**—Oct. 28. Stephen Peabody, 500 a. in Maugerville.
 56. Oct. 28. George Hayward, 1,000 a. in Maugerville.
 57. **1780**—Feb. 8. William Shaw, 2,000 a. on River St. John, next Spry's Land.
 58. **1781**—May 2. Arthur Goold, Thatch'd Island, 15 a.
 59. **1782**—Aug. 3. William Hazen and three others, 8,000 a. on Oromocto River.
 60. Aug. 15. Gifred Studholme and six others, 9,500 a. E. of Amesbury, on the Kennebecasis. New grant 5,000 a., "above John Hay's Land," June 10, 1784, named Studville.
 61. Dec. 23. Sir Andrew Snape Hamond, 10,000 a. S. of Amesbury. On Hammond River.
 62. **1783**—June 7. Lieut. Col. Wm. Spry, 5,000 a. on Upper Bound of Gagetown and 3,000 a. in Gagetown.
 - 62a. June 25. John Hayes, 3,000 a. on Kennebecasis R.
 63. Aug. 13. Samuel Hughes, 1,000 a. on N. E. side River St. John, next below Col. Spry.

64. **1783**—Oct. 4. Moses Pickard and five others, 2,000 a. in Maugerville.
 65. Oct. 4. Lieut. William Graves, 2,000 a. E. of Fort Howe. (Raymond gives June 29, 1784, as the date of this grant.)
 66. **1784**—July 6. Hon. Bryan Finucane, Sugar Id., 500 a.
 67. Oct. 15. Lewis Mercure, Bagweat Id. (above Sugar Id.).

3. The Petitcodiac—Missequash District.

The grants of this district are very difficult to trace owing to many rearrangements and re-grants.

68. **1737**—May 4. O'Neal, LaVallière's (Tonges Id.), 100 a.
 69. **1760**—May 28. Winckworth Tonge, LaVallières Id., 80 a.
 70. May 28. Winckworth Tonge and ten others, 275 a. S. E. of Fort Cumberland.
 71. **1763**—Sept. 17. William Best and John Burbridge, 600 a. in Shepody. (Partly esch.)
 72. Nov. 22. Joseph Morse and 65 others. **Cumberland Township**, 34,500 a. (established in 1757 with somewhat different boundaries).
 73. **1764**—Feb. 4. Richard Gibbons, land in Cumberland.
 74. **1765**—Mar. 15. Elias Burbridge and James Hardy, 1,500 a. at Shepody. (Partly esch.)
 75. May 13. Richard Bulkeley, 20,000 a. E. of mouth of Memramcook. (Esch.)
 76. Sept. 24. Major-General Henry Bouquet and four others, **Hopewell Township**, 100,000 a.
 77. Oct. 5. Joseph Gorham, 20,000 a. on Petitcodiac.
 Joseph Gorham and others, 10,000 a. near the above. (Esch.)
 78. Oct. 15. Richard Wright, 10,000 a. on Petitcodiac R.
 79. Oct. 22. Charles Proctor and five others, 5,000 a. near Petitcodiac R.
 80. Oct. 31. Robert Cummings and four others. **Hillsborough Township**, 100,000 a.
 81. Oct. 31. **Monckton Township** 100,000 a.
 82. **1766**—July 1. Robert Scott, 2,000 a. in Sackville.
 83. Nov. 22. Winckworth Tonge, 74 a. near I. LaVallière.
 84. **1767**—Jan. 16. Hibbert Newton, 2,000 a. in Sackville.
 85. Dec. 5. Hannah Newton, 500 a. in Sackville.
 86. **1771**—June 6. John Eagleson, 500 a. in Cumberland.
 87. **1772**—Oct. 5. **Sackville Township**, 100,000 a.
 88. Oct. 29. Edward Barron, 2,000 a. in Sackville.
 89. **1773**—Jan. 25. Samuel Belew and fifty-nine others, 25,500 a. in Sackville.
 90. **1774**—July 22. Jonathan Gay and others, 7,750 a. in Cumberland.
 91. July 22. Heirs of Thomas Barnes and thirty others, 12,250 a. in Sackville.
 92. **1783**—Sept. 6. Martin Gay and eleven others, 9,000 a. in Hillsborough.

4. The Richibucto District

In 1767 lands were assigned to twenty-four Acadians at Cocagne and Shediac [Murdoch, II., 472], though apparently the Shediac lands were granted to others the next year.

- 93 } **1768**—Apr. 22. Jos. Williams and four others, lands at Shediac contiguous to
 94 } those granted George Anthony Tonyn. (Later sold to Wm. Hanington). (Tonyn's Tract is 93, apparently granted Sept. 30, 1767.)
95. **1782**—Sept. 30. George Burns, 2,000 a. on River Cocagne. (Mentions lands granted here to John Allen, Lieut. of Marines.)
96. **1777**—Mar. 4. Mariot Arbuthnot, Capt. R. N., and two others, 5,400 a. on S. side of River Richibucto.

5. *The Miramichi District.*

97. **1765**—Oct. 24. William Davidson and John Cort. Part of an island on the E. side of Miramichi. (Archives 1894, 265).
97. Oct. 31. William Davidson and John Cort, 100,000 a. on the Miramichi, starting from Beaubear's Id.

6. *The Nepisiguit District*

98. **1770**—Nov. 2. Capt. John Allan, 2,000 a. at Nepisiguit. On west side of the harbour. On old plans Ferguson's Point is called Allan's Point.
99. **1784**—Sept. 22. Arthur Goold, 2,000 a. in Nepisiguit Har., including Goolds' (Indian) Id. (Included site of Bathurst, which on old plans is called Goold's Point.)
- 99a. Mar. 29. Francis Gionnest and thirty-three others, 14,150 a. at Caracat.

7. *The Restigouche District.*

- 98a. **1776**—Feb. 17. Lieut. David Coutts, 2,000 a. at Crokey (Jacquet) River.
- 98b. Jan. 10. Sir Andrew Hammond, 500 a. opposite Heron Id.
100. May 6. John Shoolbred, 5,000 a. at Walker's Brook, including Smith's Island.

V.—THE LOYALIST PERIOD.

Of all of the periods of our history there is none which, from any point of view, can approach this in importance. Yet no one of our historians has attempted to treat it as a unit for this province. It figures prominently in local historical writings, it is true, and Mr. Raymond in particular has given it much attention; but there is no adequate history of it yet in existence. Mr. Hannay has published in the *St. John Telegraph* a "History of the Loyalists," but it is a history of the part they took in the Revolution, and not of their part in the history of New Brunswick.

It is in this paper necessary to confine ourselves to the phases of it which deal with locations, and of these there is but one of importance, i.e., the location of the Loyalist settlements, particularly of the disbanded regiments and other associations. This particular phase of the subject is

also often referred to in local writings, particularly in those of Rev. W. O. Raymond, whose newspaper articles on the History of Carleton County contain the fullest account of it for the St. John that has yet appeared. For Charlotte it has received full treatment in the "Courier series."

When, at the close of the Revolution in 1783, it became necessary to find new homes for the many thousands who were not allowed to remain in their old ones, the attention of the authorities was naturally turned to Nova Scotia, then including New Brunswick. It was a loyal region, easily accessible from New York, where most of the Loyalists were congregated, and one with a great abundance of good lands still awaiting settlement. At this time, however, while comparatively small areas were occupied and in possession of genuine settlers, immense tracts were locked up in the grants of which we have already given an account, and which, although lying nearly or quite vacant, and already forfeit to the Crown, could not be regranted until legally escheated, a process requiring considerable time. Steps in this direction were at once taken, however, and the Loyalists were allowed to settle on the lands; and lots were assigned to them, the grants for which were not issued in many cases until several years after. In consequence of the immense number of new settlers to be located all at once, the need for securing escheats of land in whole or in part, and the necessity for reconciling many conflicting interests among the new settlers themselves, the local authorities found themselves so embarrassed that there was often much delay in assigning locations, and distress on the part of the settlers; and difficulties of this sort had no small part in bringing about the formation of the new province of New Brunswick. It is no part of our present subject to relate further the very interesting history of the locating of the Loyalist settlers, but the few facts we have given must be kept in mind in viewing the many curious features and occasional anomalies in the grants. It will be noticed, for example, that the great grants in Charlotte largely antedate those on the St. John, and many of the Loyalist associations actually had their grants issued there before the settlers were even located on the St. John. This was no doubt in part due to the fact that there was no question about the escheat of most of the pre-Loyalist grants in Charlotte, for, except in the case of Campobello and Deer Island, and a few others of less importance, the grantees had made not the slightest effort to fulfil the conditions of the grants; while on the St. John, in several cases at least, some such attempt had been made, and the escheat was not so certain. In the case of the Loyalist regiments and large associations the land was usually surveyed and divided into lots, which were then assigned in block to the association; the men drew for the separate lots, and were each given a location ticket, which was held until the grant was issued. This preliminary location, and even the subsequent grant, by no means, how-

ever, finally located the settlers. Many were dissatisfied, and sold or abandoned their lots, and often considerable areas were thus abandoned altogether, and after some time were regranted. It often happened, too, that, owing to the abandonment of a number of lots in a large grant, there was some redistribution of the remainder, and addition of new settlers, and a new grant was then issued for the tract, with different boundaries. These various movements, regrants, etc., make it very difficult to trace out the early locations and to say positively which was the actual location of a given association. Moreover, as to these block grants, while some were settled by disbanded regiments, such as the King's American Dragoons, in a single block containing only members of that particular Association, in other cases other Loyalists were admitted; in yet others, such as at Hampsted, disbanded soldiers and civilians from the same locality settled together, while in others the members of a given regiment became distributed through different settlements.

Of the disbanded regiments and other associations the more important were as follows: In Charlotte, the *Royal Fencible Americans* settled on the Magaguadavic, the *Seventy-fourth Highlanders* on the Digdeguash, the *Port Matoon Association* near and at St. Stephen, the *Penobscot Association* at several points near the St. Croix, the *Cape Ann Association* in what is now St. David, and the *Pennfield Association* at Beaver Harbour.

On the St. John, the *King's American Dragoons* settled at Prince William, *Delancey's Brigade* above them, near the present Woodstock, the *King's American Regiment* between the two, the *Pennsylvania Loyalists* on the east bank of the river from below Woodstock to near Nacawicac, the *New Jersey Volunteers* above Fredericton at Kingsclear, the *Queen's Rangers* in Queensbury, the *Royal Guides and Pioneers* above the Keswick, the *New York Volunteers* east of the Keswick, the *Prince of Wales American Regiment* between Keswick and Nashwaaksis, the *Maryland Loyalists* near the mouth of the Nashwaak, the *Forty-second Highlanders* higher up the Nashwaak, and the *King's Orange Rangers* at Quaco. A given regiment did not always have all its land in one block, but often in two or more, and in such cases the different blocks may be recognized by the similar number on the accompanying map No. 46. These are about all the associations that can be traced, though many other Loyalist Regiments were disbanded in New Brunswick, as shown by the list given by Mr. Howe in the Archives Report for 1883 (page 11); but not all in that list were disbanded in New Brunswick, but some in Nova Scotia and in Prince Edward Island. In addition to these associations, there were many cases in which large blocks were granted to a large number of individuals where there is nothing to show why they were associated in this way, and of course there were numerous grants to single individuals and to groups of a few. On the

accompanying map, No. 46, the approximate location of the principal regiments is shown, together with larger grants to different groups of individuals. The locations are often only approximate, for there is no map in existence which shows them, and I have not been able to disentangle the confused thread of grants and regrants and change of boundaries, but the map shows the general locations, and in a general way shows accurately where the Loyalists settled in New Brunswick.

What has so far been said as to Loyalist locations applies almost solely to the Passamaquoddy and St. John districts. At the head of the Bay of Fundy, in Sackville and Westmorland (formerly Cumberland) Townships, there was little Loyalist immigration, but in Dorchester and on the Petitcodiac there was some, though it was insignificant as compared with that of the St. John. As to the North Shore, it may be said that the Loyalist period hardly existed there, but that the English merged directly into the Post-Loyalist period. It is true that some Loyalist families were induced to settle on the Miramichi, and scattered settlers located themselves at other points, but these were mostly the result of expansion of the more ambitious or restless from the St. John. True Loyalist grants on the North Shore can, therefore, be said to be wanting.

Since the early grants are so closely connected with this important period of our history, and no list of them exists, I have given in the following list all of the Loyalist grants that I have been able to find made in the present Province of New Brunswick by the Nova Scotia Government. But after the first grant issued by the New Brunswick Government on March 2, 1785, I have given only those to the greater associations, made from 1785 to 1787. An accurate map and complete list of these Loyalist grants would be of very great service to our history. They are mostly shown in outline in the fine 1786 map in the Public Record office, and on one of about 1784 in the Crown Land office.

1. The Passamaquoddy District.

The grants in this district and their history are fully treated in the Courier series. They are shown approximately on the accompanying map No. 46. The spelling of place names is usually that of the original grants.

1. 1784—Feb. 20. Peter Clinch, 700 a. on Musquaquadavick.
2. Mar. 29. Lieuts. Thomas Fitzsimmons and Colin McNab, 1,000 a. Digdeguash. (Esch.)
3. Mar. 29. Colin Campbell, 2,000 a. at Digdeguash on Passamaquoddy.
4. Mar. 29. Capt. Philip Bailey and 58 others, **Royal Fencible Americans**, 10,150 a. on Magaguadavic.
5. Mar. 29. Doctor William Paine and 19 others, 5,500 a. on Magaguadavic River, Harbours Letite and Letang.
6. Mar. 29. John Curry and 42 others, 15,250 a. on the Digdeguash.

7. **1784**—Apr. 24. Edmund Phelon, 1,000 a. on Magaguadavic.
8. May 13. [30] Patrick McMasters and Daniel McMasters, 2,000 a. on Magaguadavic.
9. July 31. William Gammon and 429 others, lots in **St. Andrews**.
10. Aug. 3. Thomas Wyer and 6 others, 1,534 a. on Oak Point and elsewhere in Charlotte.
11. Aug. 3. Stephen Roberts and 189 others of the **Penobscot Association**, 19,000 a. in Charlotte, in six lots.
12. Sept. 16. John Dunbar and 105 others, 179½ a. garden lots at Scoddie (St. Stephen). (In **Morristown**.)
13. Sept. 16. Capt. Nehemiah Marks and 120 others, **Port Matoon Association**, 19,850 a. on the Scoddie.
14. Sept. 21. Dugald Thompson, ½ lot in St. Andrews.
15. Oct. 1. William Clark and 223 others of the **Cape Ann Association**, 22,600 a. in Charlotte.
16. Oct. 1. Joshua Watson and 6 others, 7,000 a. on north side of Le Proe River, about the harbour.
17. Oct. 1. John Matthewson, 100 a. on the Waweig.
18. Nov. 1. John McLeod and 150 others, town lots of **St. Georges**, Harbour Letang.

All up to this point are Nova Scotia grants, and the list is complete. Following are made by New Brunswick, and are but a few of the more important.

- 17a. **1790**—Mar. 6. The **Seventy-fourth Association**, on the Digdeguash.
- 17b. Town of **Bellevue**, at Beaver Harbour, to the **Penn's Field** settlers.

2. The St. John District.

19. **1784**—Apr. 24. Penelope Winslow and Sarah Winslow, 400 a. in Conway.
20. May 24. James Peters, 360 a. at Grimross Head.
21. June 10. David Melville, lot in Parr Town.
23. June 10. Gifford Studholm and 5 others, 5,000 a. above John Hays' land.
24. June 14. Constant Connor, 700 a. on Oromocto.
25. June 22. Frederick Hauser, 800 a. in Gagetown.
26. June 25. William Hazen and James White, 11,000 a. on Kennebecasis Bay near Simonds grant, in return for lands at St. John given up to the Loyalists.
27. June 29. John Boggs and 7 others, lots in Parr Town.
28. July 6. Col. Isaac Allen and 94 others, 14,050 a. eastward of Studholm's grant on the Kennebecasis.
29. July 6. Garret Jacobus and 37 others, 7,243 a. on S.E. side Washedomack Lake.
30. July 6. Lieut.-Col. Gabriel DeVeber and 18 others, 4,600 a. in Conway on Musquash River.
31. July 6. Henry Day and 31 others, 5,600 a. on N.E. side River St. John above Belleisle.

32. 1784—July 6. Ambrose Shearman, 500 a. on N. bank Oromocto River, and 400 a. on October 15.
33. July 14. Lawrence Buskirk and 60 others, 10,800 a. in Gagetown.
34. July 14. Abijah Waters and 44 others, 7,000 a. on E. bank of Kennebecasis Bay. (Later surrendered, as it was on Hamond's land, not then escheated.)
35. July 14. Daniel Fukes and 53 others, **Maryland Loyalists**, 13,750 a. above Manguerville on the Nashwaak.
36. July 14. James Gaynor and 26 others, 4,500 a. in Kingston.
37. July 14. John Lips and 44 others, 6,800 a. on Grand Bay.
38. July 14. Lieut.-Col. Isaac Allen and 143 others, **New Jersey Volunteers**, 38,450 a. below lands granted Major Lockman on S. side River St. John. (Cancelled in Chancery, 1799).
39. July 14. William Tyng and 131 others, 21,802 a. in Township of Kingston, "heretofore called Almestone."
40. Aug. 3. Asher Coddington and 47 others, 7,600 a. N.W. bank of Long Reach.
41. Aug. 3. Samuel Denny Street, 1,000 a. on W. side of River St. John opposite Middle Island.
42. Aug. 3. Philip John Livingston, 3,000 a. in Gagetown.
43. Aug. 9. Thomas Leonard and 90 others, lots in Parr Town.
44. Aug. 9. Charles Matthew and 5 others, lots in Parr Town.
45. Aug. 11. Matthew Hains and 112 others, 1,120 a. in Conway and Carleton.
46. Aug. 11. James Peters, 1,000 a. on Pescoback Creek at head of Belleisle.
47. Aug. 11. Humphrey Bull and 141 others, 27,750 a. on S. bank Hamond River.
48. Aug. 11. Wm. Tyng, 300 a. in Gagetown.
49. Aug. 14. Rev. James Sayre and 1,184 others, lots in Parr Town.
50. Sept. 3. Joseph Bedle and Paul Bedle, 400 a. on S. bank Kennebecasis near land granted Graham Hamond, son of Sir A. S. Hamond.
51. Sept. 3. Daniel Lyman and 38 others, 13,300 a. on Nashwaak, above Maryland Loyalists.
52. Sept. 3. Malachy O'Loglin and 11 others, 1,800 a. on S.E. side Long Reach.
53. Sept. 3. William Harding and 7 others, 1,100 a. on Belleisle River next Peters' land.
54. Sept. 3. Charles Thomas and 51 others, 8,400 a. at Washademoac.
55. Sept. 3. Richard Walker and 12 others, 2,400 a. at Red Head near St. John.
56. Sept. 3. Joshua Hardcastle and 29 others [Mary Thomas and 30 others], 5,000 a. on Rusiagonis.
57. Sept. 3. Richard Brown and 37 others, 5,400 a. on N.W. bank of Oromocto.
58. Sept. 6. John Munro, 4,000 a. at mouth of Meductic Creek (i.e., Hayes Creek).
59. Sept. 16. Basil Rorison, 550 a. on N.E. side River St. John below Eccles' land.
60. Sept. 16. Widow Sarah Smith and 5 others, N. bank Kennebecasis opposite Long Island.

61. **1784**—Sept. 16. Samuel Hugh and 73 others, 11,784 a. between Mispec and Quaco.
62. Sept. 16. William King, 350 a. eight miles up Washademoac, N.W. side.
63. Sept. 22. Abraham Van Buskirk and 79 others of the **Orange Rangers**, 14,250 a. at Quaco.
64. Sept. 22. Anthony Egbert and 26 others, 4,400 a. in Conway.
65. Sept. 22. Capt. Samuel Hallet and son, 1,000 a. opposite Indian Island below Muzeroll's house.
66. Sept. 22. Doctor Nehemiah Clarke, 900 a. next below Hallet.
67. Sept. 27. Samuel Hallet and Lieut. Daniel Hallet, lots in Parr Town.
68. Sept. 29. Caleb Jones, lot in Parr Town.
69. Oct. 1. Horner Jones and 95 others, 15,000 a. on S.E. side Grand Lake.
70. Oct. 1. William Garden, 550 a. N.E. side River St. John, above Dr. McGibbin's land.
71. Oct. 1. Lieut. Peter John Smyth, 6 a. at St. Anns Point.
72. Oct. 1. Lieut. David McGibbon, 550 a. above Eccles' land on the River St. John.
73. Oct. 6. James Twaddle, 53 a. at Grimross Head.
74. Oct. 15. Lieut. James Eccles and 19 others, 80 a. on Cleoncore Island [part revoked for non-improvement 1788].
75. Oct. 15. Capt. William Campbell and 15 others of **Prince of Wales American Regiment**, 2,930 a. N.E. side of River St. John next to Jaffray grant.
76. Oct. 15. Robert Brown and 119 others of **DeLancey's 2nd Battalion**, 24,150 a. W. side of River St. John from above Meduxnakeag to two miles below Meductic Island. [The 1st Battalion settled on the east side of the river at upper end of 99; 3rd settled mostly in Queens and Sunbury.]
77. Oct. 15. Mary Sayre and 8 others, 500 a. in Maugerville.
78. Oct. 15. Joseph Garnet and 3 others, 2,400 on Nashwaak.
79. Oct. 15. Lieut. Richard McKinnon, 500 a. west of Orange Rangers, Quaco.

All of the preceding grants were made by Nova Scotia, and the list is intended to be complete. The first New Brunswick grant was made March 2, 1785. Following are the principal grants made to disbanded regiments and large associations between 1786 and 1800:

80. **1786**—Jan. 27. Benjamin Bunnell and 60 others, 9,280 a. on Long Reach and Grand Bay.
81. Jan. 27. John Stevens and 52 others, 9,382 a. Milkish Creek and Kennebecasis Bay and Grand Bay.
82. Jan. 31. Augustin White and 17 Acadians, 2,665 a. between Madam-keswick and Nashwaaksis.
83. May 2. Harman Lutkins and 21 others, 2,528 a. above Prince William.
84. May 12. Henry Bettner and 36 others, 1,474 a. Long Island, Kennebecasis.
85. May 12. Jonathan Hawxburst and 9 others, 2,000 a. on Grand Lake.
- 85a. June 7. Christopher Carter and 17 others, 4,000 a. on Washademoac.
- 85b. May 12. William Caldwell and 16 others, 2,840 a. on Washademoac.

86. **1786**—May 19. William Hazen and 17 others, 1,065 a. on Grimross Neck.
 87. May 19. Francis Horsman and 54 others, **King's American Dragoons**, 10,975 a. Prince William, above Isaac Allen.
 88. June 3. John Cunliffe and 7 others, 2,700 a. on Narquewickack Creek.
 89. June 3. Samuel Dowling and 69 others, 14,150 a. on Maquapit and Grand Lakes.
 90. June 3. Cornelius Dalley and 57 others, 10,200 a. on N.W. side of Grand Lake.
 91. June 23. John Fournie and 42 others, 10,460 a. Salmon River, Kennebecasis.
 92. Sept. 8. Jabez Cable and 25 others, 5,108 a. on S.E. side Grand Lake.
 93. Sept. 22. Cornelius Nice and 126 others, 17,330 a. on Belleisle Bay.
 94. **1787**. Jan. 30. Conrad Stinick and 53 others, 5,308 a. in Burton.
 95. Jan. 30. John Althouse and 78 others, **New York Volunteers**, 18,117 a. about Keswick and in Queensbury.
 96. Jan. 30. James Brown and 66 others, **Queen's Rangers**, 17,674 a. in Queensbury, York.
 97. June 8. Dugald Campbell and 111 others, **42nd Regiment**, 11,343 a. on Nashwaak.
 98. Nov. 9. **Royal Guides and Pioneers**, at Crocks Point and Burgoynes Ferry.
 99. Aug. 17. William Burns and others of the **Pennsylvania Loyalists**.
 97.¹ Aug. 17. **King's American Regiment**, at Eel River.
 100. **1790**. Isaac Allen and others, at Mactaquac.

The Acadians at Madawaska received a license of occupation for their lands in 1787 and a grant in 1790.

3. The Petitcodiac-Missequash District.

101. **1784** Oct. 1. Isaac Deschamps, 1,000 a. Cape Quiddy Harbour and Quiddy River.
 102. Oct. 1. John Cox, 1,000 a. at entrance of River Quiddy.
 103. Oct. 1. John Davenport Cox and 6 others, 2,000 a. at mouth of Salmon Brook.

These are Nova grants; those by New Brunswick are as follows:

104. **1786**. Mar. 10. Josiah Smith and Wm. Freeman, 17 a. near Fort Cumberland.
 105. Oct. 10. John Richardson and 16 others, 4,545 a. on E. side Memramcook River.
 106. Oct. 10. John Sherwood and 19 others, 5,213 a. on E. side Memramcook River.
 107. Oct. 10. Simon White and 26 others, 6,848 a. on E. side Memramcook.

These appear to be the only grants made in this region by New Brunswick up to the end of 1786.

4. The Richibucto District.

There were no proper Loyalist grants in this district, though a Loyalist, Mr. Powell, settled on the Richibucto in 1787.

¹ The number 97 is accidentally duplicated in the list.

5. The Miramichi District.

108. 1786. Apr. 15. Benj. Marston and John M. Lesdernier, 640 a. on Miramichi River.
109. June 7. William Davidson, 14,540 a., in five tracts, on the Miramichi River.
110. July 19. Widow Catherine Henderson and 7 others, 1,550 a. on Miramichi River.
111. Oct. 10. Jas. Roy and 4 others, 790 a. on N. side Miramichi River.

As already explained, these grants, though in the Loyalist Period, are hardly on the same basis as the true Loyalist grants on the St. John.

6. The Nepisiguit District.

There were no Loyalist grants in this district. On February 6th, 1787, license was granted sixteen Acadians to occupy lands at Caraquet, and on April 25, 1787, there were granted 2,757 acres to Joseph Landrie and twelve others at Caraquet.

7. The Restigouche District.

There were no Loyalist grants in this district, and its modern history began with the arrival of immigrants from Scotland about 1787.

2. THE LOYALIST BOUNDARIES.

The subject of the evolution of New Brunswick boundaries, international, interprovincial, county and parish, is a subject of the greatest interest to our history, and one of no small complexity and difficulty.¹ I propose to treat it in the next memoir of this series, and will here content myself with a brief reference to the causes of the location of the boundary lines established by the Loyalists, especially the county lines. The accompanying map No. 46 will show the positions of these lines as established by a law of 1786, together with the new position of the western line of Westmorland, established the next year. It is plain that the main principle used in establishing the county lines was that of making the counties centre around the places of most abundant settlement, which in early New Brunswick were always the rivers. This necessitated running the county lines in a general way along the water-sheds between the principal rivers. Thus Charlotte was made to include the settlements about Passamaquoddy, and hence its boundaries were made to run in the wilderness as they do. Westmorland was established to include the settlements around the Petitcodiac and Misseguash system of rivers, and Northumberland to include

¹ A very brief synopsis of the whole subject may be found in the Educational Review Supplementary Readings (St. John, N. B.) No. 5, and in Bulletin of the Natural History Society of New Brunswick, No. xviii.

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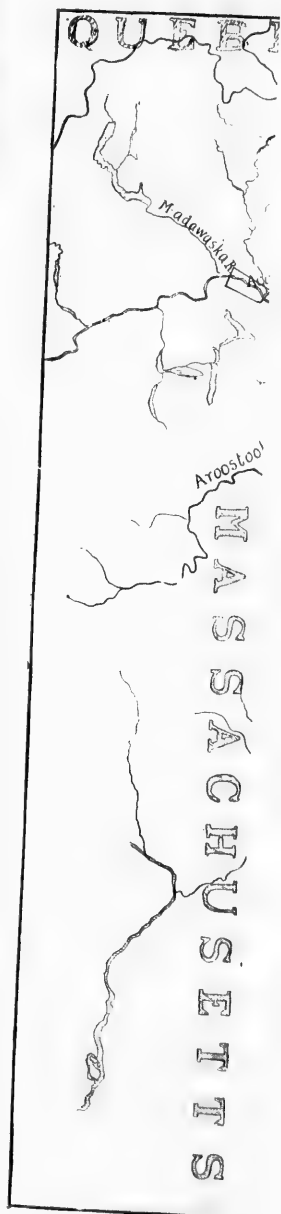
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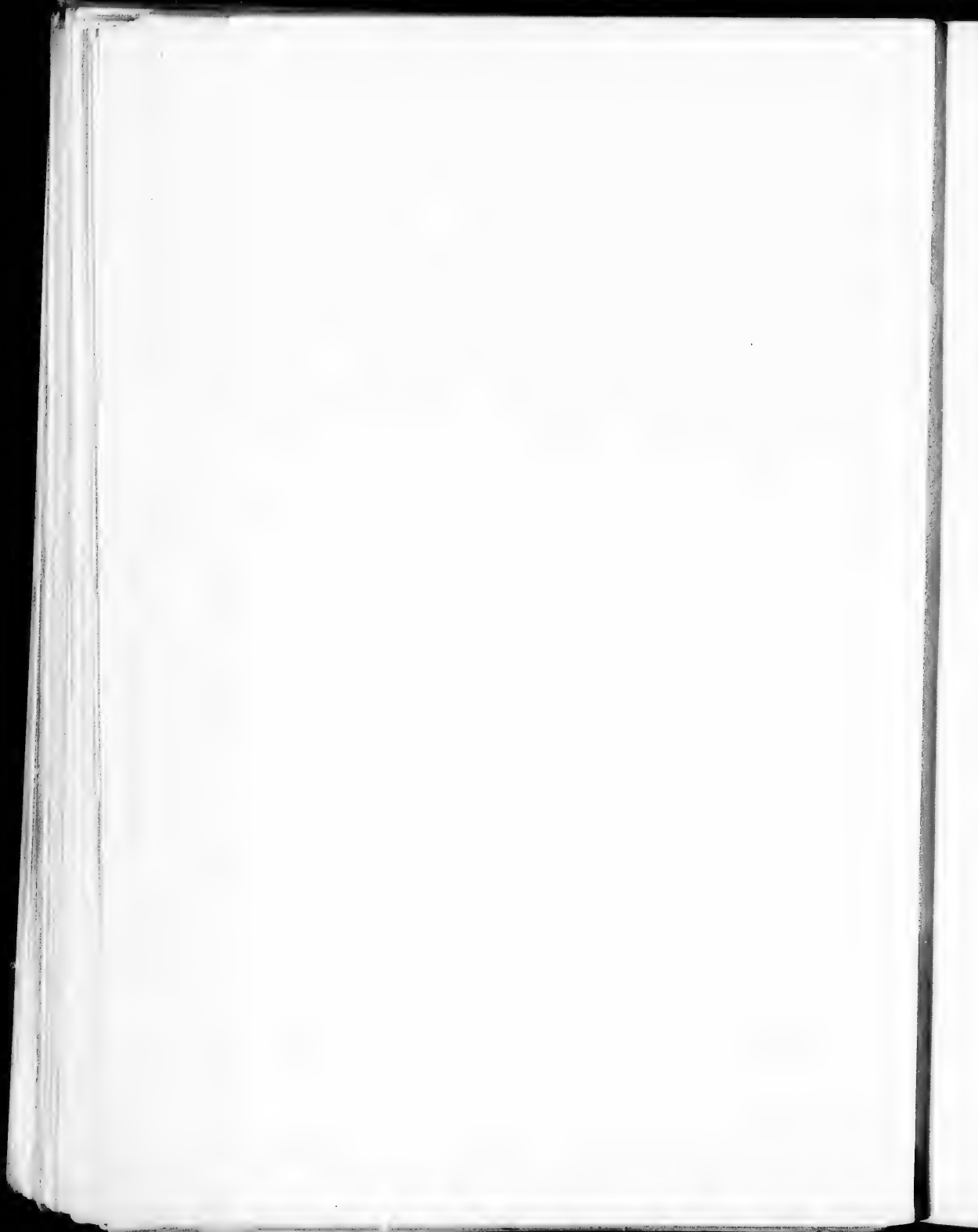
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the Miramichi and other North Shore settlements. Along the St. John came another region too large for a single county, and it was subdivided on the principle of making the county lines cross it at right angles, and, owing to the great curve made by the river, a series of counties was made to radiate from Charlotte. Precisely the same principle controlled the formation of the later counties. Kent was established to include the settlements of which Richibucto is the centre, Gloucester for those centering at Nepisiguit, and Restigouche for those about that river, while Northumberland was left to include those of the Miramichi. The later lines separating Carleton, Victoria and Madawaska, like those lower on the river, run at right angles across it. The line between Westmorland and Albert is the only exception to the general rule. It is a principle everywhere recognized in civilized countries that boundaries of small divisions should run not through settlements but along uninhabited watersheds, so that the people of the same or contiguous settlements shall belong to the same political division. In the early days of the province, when all travel was by water, the perfectly natural, and indeed only feasible plan, for county formation was this of centering the counties about the inhabited places and making the lines between them run in uninhabited watersheds, and even to this day that is certainly the most convenient plan. It is necessary that the shire-town shall be readily accessible from all parts of the country, and this is much more the case in an arrangement like the present than it would be if our rivers had been made the county boundaries, as would at first sight seem to be the more natural method. It is easier to cross a river to reach one's shire-town than to cross an uninhabited and wilderness water-shed to reach it, as would be necessary to much of the population if the rivers had been made the boundaries. With these facts in mind, we cannot but admire the wisdom with which Governor Carleton and his council laid out the Loyalist Province into counties, and that wisdom has been justified by the fact that subsequent legislators have had to make but slight changes in the original arrangement, and have ever since followed the same principle when the establishment of new counties became necessary.

As to the parish lines, many of those were adopted naturally from the township boundaries of the preceding period; others were determined by the boundaries of some of the greater grants, while yet others depended upon topographical conditions.

VI. THE POST-LOYALIST PERIOD.

It is not easy to draw a line between the Loyalist Period and that which followed it, for the one merged almost without break into the other. We may distinguish a period of settlement and adjustment of the Loyalist immigrants, lasting perhaps until about 1790, or somewhat later,

followed by a period of expansion of the Loyalist settlements and formation of new ones by the more restless or more enterprising settlers, which lasted until about 1819, when extensive immigration from the Old World began, introducing a new division of the period which lasted until Confederation.

In the Post-Loyalist period there is but little of importance to our present subject, and I shall speak only of three matters—the later forts and military posts, the post-houses on the route from St. John to Quebec, and the semaphore telegraph line from Nova Scotia to Fredericton.

A. BLOCK-HOUSES, ETC.

In 1791 Governor Carleton established two military posts on the Upper St. John. (Archives, 1895, N. B., 26, 28.) One of these was at Grand Falls, where it stood on the west side near the falls, on a site still locally well known. The other was at the mouth of the Presqu'île. Its site is still well known as the "Garrison Land." It stood on a highland on the south bank of the Presqu'île close to the St. John.

After 1800, and especially in connection with the war of 1812, several defence works were constructed in the province, notably the Martello tower still standing at Carleton and several block-houses. A list of these is given in a MS. Report of all the Barracks, etc., in New Brunswick in 1825 (now in possession of Mr. Wm. Murdoch, of St. John). The location of those about St. John is fixed for us by the very detailed MS. Field-book of 1848, by Keleher, now in the Crown Land Office. They were as follows: The Johnston block-house, built 1808, stood on Wentworth street between Leinster and King; the Dorchester block-house, built 1807, stood on the military land at the extreme south of the city; another of these, as shown by old plans (as Cunningham's plan of the harbour, 1835), stood to the northwest and near the Martello tower, and was called Fort Drummond, or the Drummond Block-house, built 1813. Another stood a short distance northeast of Fort Howe (Map No. 42). There was also a blockhouse and battery on Partridge Island. The location, form, etc., of all the batteries about St. John mentioned in the 1825 Report can be fixed exactly by the Keleher Field-book. The battery and blockhouse below Spoon Island, referred to in this paper (page 275), was built in 1813, though it is very difficult to account for its local name of the "Old French Fort," unless some earlier work stood upon the same site.

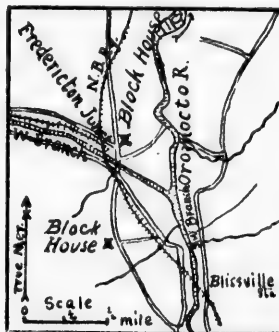
At this time St. Andrews was an exposed and important place, and Fort Tipperary was garrisoned, and later much improved, in a commanding situation back of the town, where its ruins are now perfectly distinct and well known. In 1813 also the three block-houses, with batteries, were built at St. Andrews (though locally they are said to have been built earlier), as is shown beyond question by the Report of 1825. One,

stood at Joes Point; one (still standing) was at the upper end of the town close to the shore, and another stood just behind the present light-house.

Another series of block-houses built at this time were those along the main road from Fredericton to St. Andrews. These are clearly shown on Bonnor's map of 1820 and some others. They are said locally, and probably correctly, to have been designed to intercept deserters making their way from the garrison at Fredericton towards the United States. One of them stood on the east bank of the Magaguadavic, at the end of the bridge on the main road. It was on a little hill exactly at the end of the bridge, and its cellar is still to be seen, and the site is well known locally. Another stood near Fredericton Junction. At this place, however, two sites of block-houses are known, as shown on the accompanying Map No. 47, though in neither case can any remains be seen.¹ It is altogether likely that one of them, that on the north side of the river, was built in 1785, on the recommendation of Governor Carleton, who in that year recommended the building of a barracks sufficient for a battalion, near the falls of the Oromocto (Archives, 1895, N. B., 4). The other, south of the river, said to have stood about where Mr. John Seely's house now is, is clearly that shown on Bonnor's map of 1820, though incorrectly, for the topography of his map is here very erroneous. It was built in 1813, as shown by the Report of 1825. Bonnor's map would imply that it stood in the angle between Back Creek and the south branch of the Oromocto, but nothing is known locally of the occurrence of a block-house there, as I have found by personal inquiry, and, moreover, the old road to St. Andrews did not go that way at all. It is, however, correctly shown on Lockwood of 1826. The site assigned on the Map No. 47 places it at the junction of the two roads from Fredericton and Oromocto to form the single old road (now abandoned) to St. Andrews.

The old block-house at Edmundston belongs much later. It was built in 1841, in connection with the "Aroostook War." Its site is well known locally, and its cellar can be seen on the rocky hill just south of the mouth of the Madawaska.

Fort Dufferin, at St. John, was built in recent years. I have no evidence that any earlier defence work stood on that site, though one would expect something of that sort from its position (see page 277).



MAP NO. 47.—SITES OF BLOCK-HOUSES NEAR FREDERICTON JUNCTION.

¹ As I am informed by a resident, to whom I am also indebted for the map.

B. THE POST ROUTE TO QUEBEC.

In the early days of the province the St. John River valley formed the natural route from Nova Scotia to Quebec, particularly in winter, when the sea route was closed by ice. For the accommodation of the mail-carriers, and travellers as well, the British Government early established a series of post-houses, in charge of disbanded soldiers, at convenient distances from Fredericton up the river to the Madawaska, up that river to Temiscouata, and thence to Rivière du Loup, from which the route ran along the St. Lawrence to Quebec. These post-houses are marked upon several maps of the last century, particularly on the Peachy map reproduced in the preceding memoir (p. 393) of this series. As there shown, these houses stood about as follows :

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Just above Longs Creek. | 8. At Grand Falls. |
| 2. Just above the Nacawicac. | 9. About at Siegas. |
| 3. Near Fort Meductic. | 10. Just below mouth of the Madawaska. |
| 4. Just above the Becagamee. | 11. Half way up Madawaska on east side. |
| 5. Just above the Munquart. | 12. Outlet of Temiscouata, east side. |
| 6. Just above Tobique. | 13. At Fort Ingalls, Temiscouata. |
| 7. Just above Arrostook. | |

There were perhaps also others, or else possibly they were not placed as the maps show, for at Salmon River, above Tobique, it is said, a post-house, kept by a Captain Whitehead, stood just below the mouth of the river on the edge of the intervalle, now washed away, and another is said to have stood opposite Andover. I have not tried to locate these houses exactly, but it could doubtless easily be done.

C. THE SEMAPHORE TELEGRAPH LINE FROM HALIFAX TO FREDERICTON.

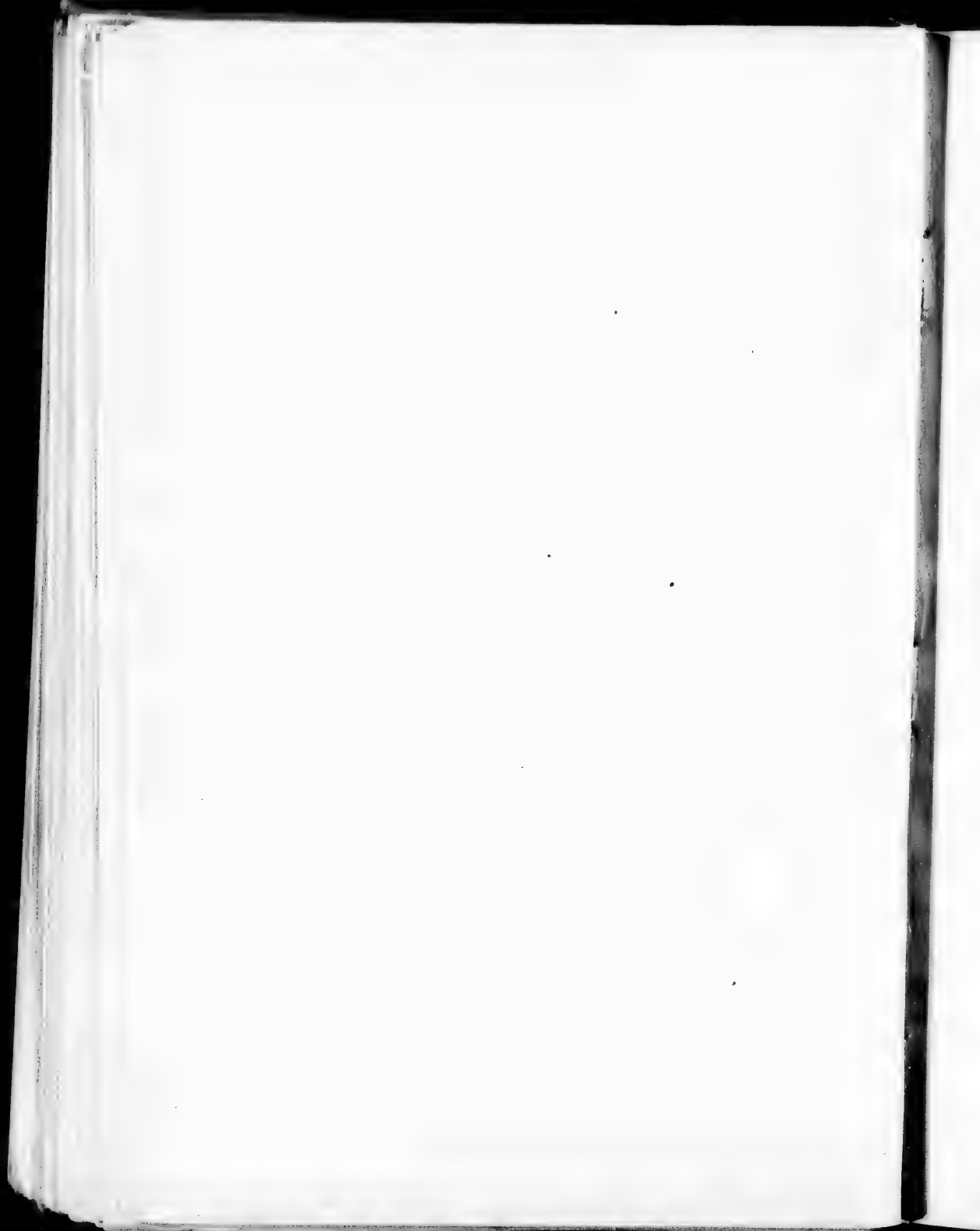
About 1794¹ it was decided by H. R. H. the Duke of Kent to establish a semaphore telegraph line from Halifax to Fredericton, a system worked by signalling from hill to hill. Though apparently never fully carried out, something was done in this direction, and several "Telegraph Hills" mark the stations to-day. The line crossed from Nova Scotia at Chignecto to just west of Martins Head, where *Telegraph Brook* still marks the place. A plan of 1807 in the Crown Land Office has this inscription on the hill west of the brook, "Telegraph Station formerly proposed." "Some trees were felled on this lot, by order of H. R. H. of Kent, to attempt a telegraph station to communicate with Cape Chignecto, in the year 1800."

The second of the known telegraph hills was at St. John near the Martello tower. Between these two points there must have been others, but

¹ Mr. Howe (Coll. N. B. Hist. Soc., I., 20).

I have not been able to locate them. Mr. Howe speaks of one at Sussex Vale, but this would be greatly out of line. I have been told that Ben Lomond was one of these hills, and also that one of the hills near Quaco Head was thus used, and there is a possibility that Porcupine Mountain, near Mount Theobald, was one of them. Above St. John, the first on the river was just back of Milkish. It is well known locally, and is called "Telegraph Hill." The next was at "Telegraph Hill," below Spoon Island, the hill on whose slope stands the old battery and block-house previously mentioned (pp. 275 and 346). Between these points there must have been at least one station, which was very probably on Bald Mountain, on the Kings and Queens boundary, but I am not sure of this. Nor can I find any other station above on the river. Our histories are silent as to this system and whether it ever came into use. Doubtless in the military records in England a full account of it is to be found.

Shortly after the settlement of the Loyalists, several schools for the education of the Indians were established in New Brunswick by the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America." The principal of these were near Woodstock, at Sheffield, and at Sussex, but there were others at Fredericton, Westfield and Miramichi. Their work was not successful, and they were closed one after another, until only that at Sussex, commonly known as the Old Indian College, remained, and it finally ceased to exist in 1826. A full account of these schools is given by Rev. W. O. Raymond in his "New Brunswick Schools of the Olden Time," in the "Educational Review," 1893, vol. vi, 192, 211, 231, and vol. vii, 7, 23, and by Mr. Allison in his "Rev. Oliver Arnold." According to Mr. Raymond (in article 68 of his series in the "Woodstock Dispatch," 1895) the school near Woodstock stood in all probability on Meductie Flat, a little below the Old Fort (see page 225). The site of that at Sheffield is unknown to me. The site of the building at Sussex is described by Allison as "on the northeast corner of the lot on which Trinity Church is now located, and by the small gate leading to that building." It is also located exactly (as the "Indian College") on a manuscript map of St. John and Kings counties in the Crown Land Office.



APPENDIX.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

The facts upon which the present work is founded are drawn from three sources, which, in the order of their importance, are,—personal investigation of localities, testimony of residents near the localities, and documentary records. It will be convenient to consider these in inverse order.

No single work has yet attempted to cover this subject, but most of the papers upon our local history, of which a gratifyingly large number have appeared within the past few years, contain at least references to it. I have tried to acknowledge the assistance of all these in their proper places. The most complete account of locations of historic sites in New Brunswick is that for the Passamaquoddy region in the "Courier Series" (see Bibliography later), a work deserving far more permanence and accessibility than its appearance in a newspaper allows. Rev. W. O. Raymond, at present New Brunswick's most active and successful historical investigator, gives due attention to this subject of historic sites in most of his writings. Very important are maps, particularly the large scale original survey maps, of which there are many in the Crown Land Office at Fredericton, and several of particular value in the Public Record Office and in the British Museum in London. It is rather a remarkable fact about many of the latter maps that no copies of them exist in the Crown Land Office at Fredericton, though the maps which are there are in admirable order and easily accessible. For books relating to the province, one turns naturally to the Legislative Library at Fredericton, but here he is doomed to bitter disappointment. This library, which ought to be above everything a repository of books relating to New Brunswick, really lacks such works almost utterly, and its chief usefulness to the historian consists in furnishing an illuminating example of what a Legislative Library ought not to be. The works consulted in such studies as this must therefore be sought in libraries abroad.

Very many of the facts in this paper have been obtained from residents near the sites described, and such assistance has, I think, always been acknowledged in the proper place. I wish, however, among these correspondents to mention particularly Rev. J. R. Doucet, of L'Amec, Mr. S. C. W. Chapman, of Dorchester, and Mr. D. Lewis, of Esecuminac. It is really surprising to find how willing most men are to respond to inquiries con-

cerning historical matters ; and it shows an unexpectedly wide-spread interest in such matters and as widely-spread courtesy. I have also had assistance at many points from Mr. Thos. G. Loggie, of the Crown Land Office, from Rev. W. O. Raymond, Mr. James Vroom, Mr. W. C. Milner, Mr. Victor M. Paltsits, and from others too many to mention, to all of whom I wish to express my best thanks.

In the introduction to this paper I pointed out the necessity for personal investigation of localities in such a subject as this. Nearly every site of importance described in this work I have visited and examined. The only important part of New Brunswick I have not visited is Miscou and Shippegan ; and, happily, for that region I have had the assistance of one of the most valued of my correspondents, Rev. J. R. Doucet. There are, of course, many sites of great local interest which are hardly important enough to come within the scope of this paper ; and there is attractive opportunity in many parts of New Brunswick for the construction of archaeological maps much more detailed than those in this work. This is particularly a field workable by local students, and it is commended to teachers and others in New Brunswick who have opportunity and taste for historical pursuits.

The sources of all of the maps in this work are acknowledged in the explanations except in the case of the historical maps. Of these, the four large maps of the periods (i.e., Nos. 12, 39, 45 and 46) were all drawn from, and of the size of, Wilkinson's map, and are reduced in engraving to less than one-fourth. Since they were drawn some slight corrections have been found needful, as follows : In No. 45, Township of Newton should read Newtown. The Seigniory assigned to Martignon north of Grand Lake on No. 39, and also on page 309, is doubtless a mistake ; I find the expression "Gouverneur et propriétaire de la Rivière St. Jean depuis la Rivière de Maquo jusqu' aux mines aux dit pais de l'Acadie . . . plus de 50 lieues de front," applies not to Martignon, but to La Tour himself, and refers to his great grant of 1656. Hence the "mines" would be at the head of the Bay of Fundy, and the River Maquo would be some river in Maine. In No. 46, a part of the lands around St. John should be dotted to show persistent pre-Loyalist grants, whose extent may be determined from Mr. Raymond's articles and maps referred to earlier on page 333. On map No. 46, the number 97 is accidentally duplicated, as explained on page 343. As to the other historical maps, the sources are as follows. Most of the older maps mentioned are fully described in the preceding monograph.

No. 24—Isthmus of Chignecto. Topography from Steckel's map of 1874.

Earlier maps containing information are :

Map of the Isthmus by Franquet, 1752. (Map No. 26 of this work).

Plan de L'Isthme de L'Acadie. Paris, 1779, but belonging to 1755.

A Large and Particular Plan of Skegnekto Bay. London, 1755.

Map of the Bason of Chignectou and its Environs in Nova Scotia, From a French draught, Capt. Lewis' Survey of the road to Bay Verte, etc., 1755. Ms. in possession of Mr. F. Allison of Sackville.

Map of the Isthmus in "Mémoires sur le Canada," about 1755.

Fort Beauséjour and the adjacent country . . . in 1755. In Mante's History of the late war in America.

Part of Map of Nova Scotia or Acadie. By Capt. Montresor. London. 1768. There is also in the British Museum a plan of the Isthmus of about 1755 by Winckworth Tonge, but this I have not seen.

Survey of the Isthmus in 1837, by Chas. McCurdy. Ms. in Crown Land Office. The Plans of the Isthmus made by Minnette, 1822; Hall, 1825, and by Crawley, 1843, in connection with surveys for a Baie Verte Canal, are missing from the Crown Land Office and from the Public Works Department, Ottawa, to which they were loaned.

No. 33—Miramichi. Topography from an Admiralty chart. Facts from Juneau, 1685, Franquelin, 1686, and the Survey map of 1754, all reproduced in the preceding Monograph of this series. Micheau's map of 1785, mentioned on page 330 is valuable for later history.

No. 34—Miscou and Shippegan. Topography from the Geological Survey map and the Admiralty Chart. Facts from Juneau, 1685, and Franquelin, 1686, and from Survey map of Miscou, by West, 1820, and of Shippegan, by Harley, 1830. Both are Ms. in the Crown Land Office. Other facts have been given me by Rev. J. R. Doucet, of L'Amee.

No. 35—Bathurst. Topography from a survey map in the Public Works Office, Ottawa. Facts from the Survey map accompanying Gould's Grant of 1784, published (with additions) in Coll. N. B. Hist. Soc. II., 127. Denys' map of 1672 is very imperfect.

No. 36—Restigouche. Topography from the Survey map in the Crown Land Office. There appear to be no earlier historical maps of importance, the French charts of 1778 hardly taking in this part.

No. 37—St. John. Topography from Bruce, 1761.

Earlier maps are :

Map of the Harbor by Champlain, 1604.

Chart of the Harbor, by Bruce, 1761, mentioned above.

Chart of the Entrance to the River St. John, by DesBarres, 1776.

Plan de la Port de la Rivière Saint Jean, Paris, 1779.

Plan of Parr Town, by Paul Pedell, 1783. Ms. in Crown Land Office.

Plan of the City and Harbor of St. John, from an actual Survey taken in the year 1784. By Robert Morse (?)

Mouth of the River St. John, by A. Lockwood, 1818.

Map of the City of Saint John, N.B., by Charles Whitney, 1825. Ms. in Crown Land Office.

Plan of the City and Harbor of St. John, N.B., by Cunningham. Boston, 1835.

The Admiralty Charts.

No. 38—Fredericton. Topography from the Survey map. There are no especial historical maps of this region, other than those of Morris, given earlier, No. 17, and some plans in the Crown Land Office, including the original plan of Fredericton, of 1786, by D. Campbell. To this map the word *Osauburg* should be added along with Fredericton, and the Township of *Newton* should read *Newton*, and its date should be 1768.

No. 40—Passamaquoddy. Topography from the Admiralty Chart. The name *Morristown* should appear with St. Stephen.

Earlier maps are :

Charts by Desbarres.

Champlain's Plan of 1604.

Plan by Southack, 1733, in these Transactions, new ser. III., ii., 367.

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Plan of the Coast from the West passage of Passamaquoddy Bay to the River St. John. By Wright, 1772.

A sketch of Passamaquoddy with the adjacent rivers, 1786, Ms. by John Allan.

Plan of 1797, by David Owen, given earlier in this work, page 267.

Plan of Campobello and other islands contiguous, 1839.

Mitchel's map of Passamaquoddy of 1764 is in the Public Record Office, but I have not seen it.

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B.—Maps.

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ADDENDA.

Page 272, line 3, after No. 37, add: A plan in the City Chamberlain's Office in St.
 John is said to mark the site of an "old French burial ground" near Fort
 Frederick.

Page 347, near bottom, after Madawaska, add: A contemporary description of
 this block-house is given in Lanman, *Adventures in the Wilds of the United*
States and Canada, 1856, I., 306, 307.